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DECEMBER 1943

Three "Bactrian" Silver Vessels with Illustrations from Euripides KURT WEITZMANN 289

The Early Works of Bartolomé Ordóñez and Diego de Siloe: II HAROLD E. WETHEY 325

Notes on the Sculpture of the Church of Akhthamar ARMÉNAG SAKISIAN 346

From China to Palmyra OTTO MAENCHEN-HELFEN 358

NOTES

Jacopo de' Barbari's Apollo and Dürer's Early Male Proportion Figures ALICE WOLF 363

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR 366

BOOK REVIEWS

Gisela M.A. Richter, *Kouroi, A Study of the Development of the Greek Kouros from the Late Seventh to the Early Fifth Century B.C.* KARL LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN 372

Ernest T. De Wald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint. Volume III: Psalms and Odes, Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752* SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN 375

Margarete Bieber, *Laocoon, the Influence of the Group since Its Rediscovery* ALLAN H. GILBERT 378

Eric Schroeder, *Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art* A. K. COOMARASWAMY 380

Guy de Tervarent, *Les énigmes de l'art du moyen âge, Deuxième série: art flamand* LEO VAN PUYVELDE 382

Philip L. Goodwin, *Brazil Builds (Construção Brasileira), Architecture New and Old* HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK 383

Max Huggler and Anna Maria Cetto, *Schweizer Malerei im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* ALFRED NEUMEYER 385

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED 386

INDEX FOR VOLUME XXV 387



THREE "BACTRIAN" SILVER VESSELS WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM EURIPIDES

BY KURT WEITZMANN

I

THE HERMITAGE in Leningrad possesses among its rich treasures of oriental silverware two bowls, the outer surface of which is illustrated copiously with a sequence of narrative scenes (Figs. 1, 5-12). Their iconography, at first glance, seems to be quite unique with hardly any parallel in monuments of either Greek or oriental art, and the various attempts at their interpretation are quite controversial and lead in very different directions. In New York recently a new piece turned up (Fig. 13) which obviously is closely related to the two in Leningrad. This gave the stimulus to discuss the whole group of bowls anew, especially from the iconographic point of view.

The shape of the two bowls in Leningrad resembles that of Hellenistic terra cotta cups which usually go under the name of Megarian bowls.¹ This, however, is only a generic term since they were found not only in Megara, but all over Boeotia and in other places. Among them is a special group which is adorned with a series of successive scenes from epic poems and dramas alike, which Robert, who analyzed them in a basic study, called Homeric cups or bowls.² It is our thesis that the three oriental silver bowls, which in all probability are products of Hellenized Bactria, are derivatives of these Homeric cups not only in their shape, but also in their iconography. Robert has argued with good reason that the terra cotta bowls were cheap replicas of more precious metal cups either of gold or silver and in order to document the high regard in which classical antiquity held them, he quotes a passage from Suetonius in which Nero (47) throws to the ground "duos scyphos gratissimi usus, quos Homericos a caelatura carminum Homeri vocabat. . . ." But no Hellenistic metal cup which could be considered a prototype of those in terra cotta has been found so far. If our connection between the Bactrian silver bowls and the Greek terra cotta cups should prove to be right, the dependence of the former upon the latter does not need to be a direct one. More likely both groups go back to the Greek silver bowls assumed to have been their common models.

There are two classes of Homeric bowls: the first and better one, dated by Robert in the third century B.C. and by Courby³ even as early as the last quarter of the fourth century, is cast from moulds which probably were made over metal cups, and its decoration consists of coherent scenes, while in the second class, belonging to the later Hellenistic and Roman period, the surface is covered with simple, stamped figures which originally belonged to coherent scenes, but were later used in most cases in a merely decorative way, losing their former context and meaning. The Homeric bowls illustrate not only the Iliad and Odyssey and other poems of the so-called κύκλος ἐπικός, which deal with the Trojan war and the events thereafter, but also epics, lost today, which centered around the deeds of Theseus⁴ and Heracles,⁵ while a substantial number derive their themes from dramatic texts. Robert

1. O. Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*, Berlin, 1868-83, pp. 117 ff., pls. LVIII-LXI.

2. C. Robert, *Fünfzigstes Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1890.

3. F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à relief*, Paris, 1922, pp. 321 ff.

4. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 46, No. K.

5. Robert, *ibid.*, p. 86, No. e; Rostovtzeff, "Two Homeric Bowls in the Louvre," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLI, 1937, pp. 90 ff., figs. 3-5.

published one bowl with scenes from the *Iphigenia at Aulis* and with the inscription ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑΣ which leaves the beholder in no doubt concerning the literary source of the five scenes which illustrate the center of the drama.⁶ A second, still unpublished bowl, which illustrates the beginning of the same drama likewise in five scenes, was recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Apparently there must have existed a third cup with the end of the drama which, however, has not yet turned up. In a similar way the *Phoenissae* was illustrated and its scenes distributed over several cups. One is preserved in London, another in Halle⁷ and a fragment of a third, with the blind Oedipus illustrating the very end of the drama, is likewise in London.⁸ Single figures of the stamped class seem to have been taken from scenes of the *Hecuba*⁹ and the *Oedipus*.¹⁰ Illustrations even from the satyr plays of Euripides exist in this group of monuments as the jug of Dionysios in Berlin proves, which illustrates either the *Sisyphus* or the *Autolycus*.¹¹ From this survey we learn that the dramatic poetry was hardly less prominently represented among the cups than the epic. Moreover, it is noteworthy that so far scenes from Euripides alone have been found on the cups and not a single illustration from Aeschylus, Sophocles, or any other tragic poet.

Thus in considering the Bactrian bowls derivatives of the Homeric ones, the iconographic realm in which one should search for an explanation of their scenes is more or less determined. This realm comprises chiefly the Homeric and other Trojan epics and dramas, notably the dramas of Euripides. So far we have been unsuccessful in detecting a single Homeric scene on the oriental silver bowls, while the great majority of scenes can in our opinion be interpreted as illustrations of dramas of Euripides, tragedies and satyr plays alike.

II — THE BOWL FROM KUSTANAI

In 1903 in Kasachstan, near Kustanai, in the province of Turgai, a silver bowl was found (Figs. 1 and 5-8), which now belongs to the Hermitage in Leningrad and which was published first by Smirnov in his volume of plates on oriental silver to which no text volume ever appeared.¹² The figure frieze running around the outer surface of the bowl is divided into four scenes of nearly equal size. In two cases (Fig. 5) trees separate the scenes from each other, in another a doorway serves as an intersection motif (Fig. 7) and in the fourth case (Fig. 6) there was apparently not space enough left for a dividing motif so that the end of one scene and the beginning of the next is indicated only by turning the back of the nude old man against that of a woman. Even the convex medallion at the bottom of the vessel contains a scene (Fig. 8), contrary to the tradition of the Greek cups where usually a rosette takes this place as a mere decorative feature.¹³ A simple string of pearls around the rim is the only ornamental motif, and it replaces the more usual interlace pattern found on the Megarian bowls. The cup was apparently much handled in ancient times since the higher parts of the relief, particularly the faces, are much rubbed off and in one scene (Fig. 1) a head and several limbs are hollowed out as the result of damage.

So far, two attempts have been made to explain the scenes of the bowl. Rostovtzeff, realizing the narrative character of its scenes, sees in them the depiction of the story of a great Iranian hero.¹⁴ His results may briefly be summarized as follows. The central medal-

6. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 51, No. L.

7. C. Robert, *Jahrbuch des Instituts*, XXIII, 1908, pp. 193 ff., pls. 5-6.

8. Robert, 50. *Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm*, p. 59, No. M.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 73, No. b; Kyparissis, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1910, p. 217, pl. 6.

10. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 76, No. c; Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 304, No. 29, fig. 58.

11. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 90, fig. p. 93; A. von Salis, *Corolla, Ludwig Curtius zum 60. Geburtstag*, 1937, pp. 161 ff., pls. 58-60.

12. Я. И. Смирновъ, Восточное Серебро, Атлас, С.-Петербургъ (J. I. Smirnov, *Argenterie orientale*), 1909, pl. CXIII, No. 284.

13. Robert, *op. cit.*, figs. on pp. 26, 30, 51, 69, 73, 76.

14. "Some New Aspects of Iranian Art," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VI, 1933, pp. 175 ff., pl. XIII, 1-2.

lion (Fig. 8) he takes simply as a representation of a lively discussion. Then describing the four scenes of the frieze proper, he starts with the one between the two trees and proceeds to read clockwise the story of a hero who "looks in one scene like Alexander the Great, in another like Dionysus." According to him an Iranian goddess, enthroned and with a cornucopia, is seated between two satyrs, and all of them are grouped around the chief figure of the boy on the ground (Fig. 5). This scene he explains as "the early years of a hero spent under the protection of the goddess of fertility and of Satyrs." In the second group (Fig. 6) the hero reminds him of the heroized Alexander, who attracts the attention of two elder men. This means "his epiphany as a young hero before a king or god." In the third (Fig. 7) two women are met by a naked satyr, a situation he interprets as the "bride advancing toward his (i.e., the hero's) royal palace," and finally (Fig. 1) the meeting of the king and the bride is supposedly illustrating "the *ιερός γάμος* of him and his bride."

A second interpretation was brought forward by Miss Trever in her recent book on the *Monuments of Greco-Bactrian Art* which was written without the knowledge of Rostovtzeff's article.¹⁵ In it she seeks an explanation along a different line. According to her the cup represents a marriage ceremony as described in Indian literature, and it can, as she believes, be interpreted in a two-fold way: either as a Vedic marriage based upon the rituals of the *Atharva-veda* or as an earthly marriage, based upon the rules of the *Sutras*. In the first case it would be the marriage of the gods Soma and Surya. The woman enthroned (Fig. 5) would be Dhishana, the goddess of fertility with a cornucopia in her left arm. At her feet are the Asvins, who correspond to the Dioscuri, and the child between them indicates that the new-born will be a boy. The grove of Dhishana, visualized by two trees, is protected by two singing soldiers, the Maruts. At the left of this comprehensive composition a second scene (Fig. 1) is formed by the young married couple and at the right a third scene (Fig. 6) comprises the two old men and a woman. The naked old man is supposed to be the blind god Bhaga, who is led by Aryaman, the man in front of him, and by Purandhi, the woman behind his back. This woman forms a transition to the next scene (Fig. 7) in which she offers a cup to the bride who in front of the bridegroom's house is received by one of the Asvins. In case of an earthly marriage Trever sees in the seated woman (Fig. 5) the bride festively adorned. The two soldiers who frame this central scene are explained as the father of the bride (Fig. 1) and her brother (Fig. 6). The second scene (Fig. 1) is explained as bride and bridegroom with the best man behind the bride. Next to this composition is a scene (Fig. 7) in front of the bridegroom's house where the best man welcomes the bride with a bowl and a flower. In the central medallion (Fig. 8) the bride is already in the bridegroom's house, seated in front of her husband.

Rostovtzeff in his review of Trever's book¹⁶ hesitates to accept the Indian theory primarily because of the lack of the representation of fire which in the Vedic literature plays a very essential part in the marriage ceremony. Furthermore, it seems to us that Trever's scenic divisions do not correspond very well with the visual data. The so-called two soldiers seem obviously not to belong to the same scene as the goddess enthroned, but to the neighboring ones: the man with the helmet (Fig. 1) is more closely connected with the young married couple in front of him and the warrior with shield and spear (Fig. 6) apparently attracts the attention of the two old men. Moreover, the old nude man and the woman with the cup do not belong to the same group and what Trever considers to be the left hand of the man on the woman's shoulder is apparently a part of the folded mantle which is twisted around her shoulder and arm. There are other difficulties which result from the attempt to make all scenes belong to a coherent narrative. It is hard to recognize in the proud

15. К. В. Тревер, Памятники Греко-Бактрийского Искусства, Москва (K. V. Trever, *Monuments of Greco-Bactrian Art*), 1940, p. 71, No. 15, pls. 15-17.

16. *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 299.

bridegroom who touches the bride's chin (Fig. 1) the same person as the older, bearded man in the central medallion (Fig. 8) who is considered to be the husband after the wedding, and so on.

As against Rostovtzeff's Iranian and Trever's Indian theory we propose here a Greek one according to which, as we have already indicated, the subject matter is taken from Greek mythology and, more specifically, from the dramas of Euripides.

THE ALCESTIS

In the center of the first scene are two lovers (Fig. 1). A male figure, nude save for a mantle, which covers his thighs and is thrown around his left shoulder, holds in his left arm a scepter which characterizes him as a king, while with his right hand he touches tenderly the chin of a woman in front of him. Heavily draped in a chiton and a kind of himation which at the same time is drawn as a veil over her head, the woman holds the hem of the upper garment with one hand, while the other, partly damaged and thus unclear in its action, is stretched out toward the man. Both look intensely into each other's eyes. Behind the woman stands a man, entirely nude, with a staff in his right hand, and full of action. He turns toward the left, striding away, but his head is turned around and his left hand rests upon the woman's head as if he were trying to take her away and to separate her from the man. Thus the tenderness between the two lovers implies a farewell scene. Behind the king stands quietly a man in a tunic with short sleeves, in boots and a wide-brimmed hat. His right hand is raised in a gesture the meaning of which is not in itself clear and his left hand holds the stem of a tree behind him. It may be observed that this stem from the man's hand downward to the ground has the shape of a bow. Perhaps in the model the man actually did hold a bow which overlapped the tree and in the copy both shapes merged into one object.

All these features can be explained by interpreting the scene as Admetus' farewell to Alcestis according to the version of Euripides' *Alcestis*. With verse 244 both Admetus and Alcestis enter the stage. The king, who cannot submit yet to the inevitable, tries to lift up his wife, who is already languishing, with the comforting words (verses 250-251)

ἔπαιρε σαυτήν, ὦ τάλαινα, μὴ προδῶς·
λίσσοι δὲ τοὺς κρατοῦντας οἰκτεῖται θεοὺς.

Uplift thee, hapless love, forsake me not,
And pray the mighty Gods in ruth to turn.¹⁷

It is this very moment that is represented on the relief of the cup in clear and precise visual imagery. Admetus, characterized by the scepter as the king of Pherae, faces his devoted wife who is going to sacrifice her own life for him. It should be observed that he touches her chin not with the inside of his hand, but with its outside. While the former gesture expresses love-making, which would not be appropriate under the present circumstances, the latter is a literary transformation of the ἔπαιρε into the language of the representational arts. Alcestis, the veiling of whose head indicates that she is prepared for the sacrifice of her life and the journey to the lower world,¹⁸ stretches out her left hand, as if in longing for her husband, though she does not move to embrace him. The attitude of her right hand holding the veil expresses rather a restraint in her feeling for Admetus. This again is very much in accordance with the spirit of the scene in Euripides, in which Admetus' attempt at consolation seems to have no great effect upon her. Her interest is immediately

17. This and all the following translations from A. S. Way's edition in the Loeb Classical Library.

18. Cf. the similarly veiled Iphigenia on a mosaic

from Antioch, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, pp. 242 ff. and pl. 49.

taken by the vision of Charon (verses 252 ff.) who awaits her and this situation might count for her comparatively restrained attitude.

But who is the man who stands behind Alcestis, ready to guide her to the lower world? In the text of Euripides Alcestis does not mention her guide by name, but describes him (verses 259 ff.) as having dark brows and wings, thus without doubt characterizing Thanatos, who had appeared at the beginning of the drama in a dialogue with Apollo. However, the figure on the relief is not Thanatos but Hermes Psychopompus, entirely nude and holding a staff in his hand that looks like a *lagobolon*, but obviously was originally meant to be a *kerykeion*. Hermes is the traditional guide of the defunct to or from the lower world and though the text does not particularly mention him, he was needed to make the meaning of the farewell artistically understandable to the beholder.

While Hermes is introduced as a coherent part of the main composition, the figure behind Admetus does not find an explanation in connection with the farewell scene proper, though his attachment to it seems to point to the fact that somehow or other he is related to the Alcestis episode. According to the text nobody except the chorus is present. But the bow, if our suggestion is right that the tree which he grasps was originally meant to be a bow, provides the clue: it is Apollo who is engaged as a servant in the house of Admetus at the time of Alcestis' death, atoning for the slaying of the Cyclopes. In the dialogue between Thanatos and Apollo the former alludes twice to the latter's weapon, of which he seems to be afraid. First in verse 35:

χέρα τοξήρη φρουρεῖς ὀπίσας

With thine hand made ready the bowstring to strain

and a second time in verse 39:

τί δῆτα τόξων ἔργον, εἰ δίκην ἔχεις;

Justice with thee! — what needeth then the bow?

whereupon Apollo answers (verse 40):

σύνηθες αἰεὶ ταῦτα βαστάζειν ἐμοί.

This? — 'tis my wont to bear it evermore.

To Apollo's present situation his outfit of a tunic with short sleeves and a large brimmed petasos, is very suitable indeed, since as a herdsman he is pasturing the flocks of Admetus, thus fulfilling the manual labor mentioned in verse 8:

ἐλθὼν δὲ γαῖαν τήνδ' ἐβουφόρβουν ξένῳ

To this land came I, tended mine host's kine.

There is no figure facing Apollo. This means that the discourse with Thanatos is not represented, unless we want to assume an abbreviated copy of a fuller model in which he once was present. More likely the very beginning of the drama is depicted which starts with a prologue spoken by Apollo. In the one case Apollo's raised hand would be a gesture accompanying his words to the now lost Thanatos, while in the other it would suggest his farewell to Admetus' house (verses 1 ff.):

ᾧ δώματ' Ἀδμήτει', ἐν οἷς ἔτλην ἐγὼ
θῆσαν τράπεζαν αἰνέσαι θεός περ ὦν.

Halls of Admetus, h' 'I stooped my pride
Here to brook fare of serfs, yea I, a God!

But no matter to what passage Apollo actually is to be related, after verse 71 he leaves the stage and does not appear again during the whole play. So Apollo cannot be participating directly in the central scene. Consequently we are dealing with two different scenes, selected from a narrative cycle which reads from right to left.

A cyclic representation of the Alcestis myth exists in classical antiquity only in a group of Roman sarcophagi, the iconography of which, as Robert has pointed out,¹⁹ is clearly based upon the play of Euripides. Apollo occurs twice on them. Upon the lid of a sarcophagus of which a drawing exists in the Codex Pighianus²⁰ he is represented as a youth who is introduced to Admetus by his mother Leto as a servant, an action which precedes the play. Only in the second example does Apollo illustrate a passage from the drama itself.²¹ In the left part of the front of a sarcophagus in the Vatican he is rendered in an attitude which indicates that he is turning away from the center where the death of Alcestis takes place, and is leaving in a hurry. This is the situation in which Apollo is just about to leave the stage (verses 22-23) when he meets Thanatos, whom the sculptor of the sarcophagus has replaced by the Janitor Orci, coming out of the gate of Hades. Here, too, as is to be expected, Apollo displays his bow prominently, but otherwise he is rendered in a more conventional way, naked and with a chlamys, as compared with the silver bowl where in closer accordance with the meaning of the text of Euripides he wears a domestic costume.

Alcestis' farewell to Admetus, however, does not occur on the sarcophagi, the artists of which always chose for the center of the front-side a somewhat later moment, her passing away in the presence of her children, as related in verses 280-390. The only classical monument to our knowledge of which the composition corresponds, at least in its most essential feature, with that of the bowl is an Etruscan vase painting from Vulci, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Fig. 2).²² Here Alcestis embraces Admetus, a gesture of farewell which is conventional compared with the fine psychological expressiveness of which the artist who created the model of the bowl was capable. The couple of the vase is framed by two Etruscan demons, the left one standing for Charon, the right one probably for Thanatos. Petersen²³ concluded on the basis of these demons that the whole vase picture had nothing to do with Euripides, while Séchan, on the other hand, argued rightly that the demons were nothing else than an "encadrement barbare" and that the central group could very well represent a scene from a Greek drama.²⁴

The closest parallels to the Hermes Psychopompus as guide of Alcestis to the lower world are on sarcophagi. On a short side of a Proserpina sarcophagus in the Uffizi (Fig. 4a),²⁵ Hermes is seen at the entrance of Hades in a similar attitude as on the cup, holding his kerykeion in his right hand and looking back to the veiled Alcestis, who follows him. But while Hermes on the sarcophagus takes Alcestis by the arm instead of touching her head, the other short side of the same sarcophagus (Fig. 4b) represents Heracles leading Alcestis back to the upper world and grasping her veil in a gesture not unlike that of Hermes in the cup. Moreover, on a lost sarcophagus which we know only from drawings in the Codex Pighianus (Fig. 3)²⁶ and other manuscripts, Hermes also is depicted touching the veiled head of a deceased person, this time an older man, whom he is going to guide to Hades. Robert first interpreted this gesture as closing the eyes of the deceased, but later explained it as letting down the veil over the face.²⁷

19. *Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 1, p. 25, pls. VI-VII, Nos. 22-32.

20. *Ibid.*, pl. VII, No. 32'.

21. *Ibid.*, pl. VII, No. 26.

22. For the photograph here reproduced the writer wishes to thank Prof. George Elderkin, to whom he feels also obliged for many valuable suggestions.

23. "Admetos and Alkestis," *Arch. Ztg.*, XXI, 1863, p. 108, pl. CLXXX, No. 3.

24. L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, Paris, 1926, p. 240, fig. 72 (here older literature cited); G. Q. Giglioli, *Studi etruschi*, IV, p. 365 with 3 figs.; G. W. Elderkin, *Archaeological Papers*, III, 1941, No. 2, fig. 1.

25. Robert, *op. cit.*, III, 1, p. 35 with figure and III, 3, p. 464, pl. CXX, No. 372 a-b.

26. Robert, *op. cit.*, II, p. 152, pl. LII, No. 140'.

27. *Op. cit.*, III, 1, p. 36.

Robert suspected already that behind the sarcophagi stands a Hellenistic narrative cycle similar to that of the Homeric bowls.²⁸ The silver bowl of Kustanai, which copies such a Hellenistic model, confirms his suggestion, though it cannot be proved that silver bowl and sarcophagi belong necessarily to the same iconographic tradition.

THE ALOPE

The second scene (Fig. 5) represents a richly draped woman enthroned, who apparently presides over a proceeding taking place in front of her. Her legs are drawn under, a posture resembling the oriental kind of squatting. Pigtales fall over her breast and in her left hand she holds what must originally have been a cornucopia, though the notched outline indicates that it was not rightly understood as such. In front of this dominating figure stand two nude young men facing each other. The left one has a little mantle which flutters freely behind his neck and he holds what looks like a bowl in his left hand and a small object between the thumb and forefinger of his right, an object which obviously must play an important role in the story. The second youth holds his right hand against his cheek in what looks like a gesture of worry or sadness, while in his left hand he holds a shepherd's staff. This attribute indicates that we are dealing with a shepherd and since the youth opposite looks much the same, he too is probably a shepherd. The object of the dispute is a little child who sits on the ground stretching out his arm toward the shepherd of the sad gesture. That much we can read from the very vivid and expressive gestures of the scene, so dramatically conceived.

The situation just described fits best, in our opinion, the *Alope* of Euripides in spite of certain incongruities which we are inclined to attribute partly to the lack of understanding of the content on the part of the oriental copyist, partly to a scant and incomplete transmission of the plot of the lost play. The few surviving passages of the drama²⁹ are not sufficient to reconstruct the plot, but there seems to be a general agreement that Fable 187 of Hyginus follows in its outline the lost drama of Euripides.³⁰ According to this fable *Alope*, the beautiful daughter of Cercyon, king of Eleusis, has an illegitimate child by Poseidon, which she orders to be exposed in order to hide her disgrace from her father. The child, nourished by a mare, is found by a shepherd and turned over to a second shepherd, but without the objects that were found with him. The second shepherd demands these objects and since they cannot come to an agreement, they decide to have the matter settled by the king. By a piece of cloth, one of the disputed objects, Cercyon recognizes the child as royal and so discovers *Alope's* disgrace. The child is exposed a second time, and found again by shepherds who bring it up and call it *Hippothoon*, whereas *Alope* is punished by imprisonment in a tower.

The court session was apparently one of the main scenes of the drama and it seems to us that our relief represents this tribunal, at least in its essential features. The two youths, then, would represent the two shepherds who stand in front of the podium of the judge, facing each other, and the babe on the ground would be *Hippothoon*, *Alope's* child. So far the scene in its composition and meaning conforms very well with the general situation of the drama. But there is one great difficulty. The judge, whom we expect to be king Cercyon, is, as described above, a woman with a cornucopia. This attribute is not that of a judge and the way of sitting with the legs drawn under is not Greek at all. Therefore we cannot even assume that the copyist made a transformation of a Greek type whose sex he might not have

28. *Op. cit.*, III, 1, p. 26.

29. A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1926, p. 389, Nos. 105-113; F. G. Welcker, *Die Griechischen Tragödien*, Bonn, 1839, II, pp. 711 ff.

30. Schmid-Stählin, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur*, 7th ed., Munich, 1940, p. 592; W. N. Bates, *Euripides*, Philadelphia, 1930, p. 215.

recognized, but if our interpretation so far is right, he must have substituted for the Greek king an entirely different type which has nothing to do with the Euripidean scene. Another difficulty lies in the attributes of the shepherd to the left. He holds, as we mentioned above, a bowl and a small object between the fingers, where we might expect a piece of cloth. The disputable objects are described in Hyginus in various terms — namely, as “vestis regia,” “insignia ingenuitatis” and “insignia ex veste scissa Alopes.” Stephani concluded rightly that these terms are not confined to a mere piece of cloth but might include other small precious objects such as amulets and so on.³¹ Moreover, we cannot be too sure that Hyginus corresponds in such small detail precisely with the lost Euripides text and the possibility that the latter was somewhat different concerning the tokens must be left open.

It was observed by philologists that in Menander's *Epilepentes* an arbitration scene of exactly the same kind takes place, and therefore they concluded that this scene of the comedy had been composed after the pattern of Euripides' *Alope*.³² Here the disputed objects are, according to verse 84, small ornaments (τινὰ κόσμον), more specifically described in verse 86 as necklace, and birth-tokens (τὰ δέραια καὶ γνωρίσματα), and in verse 170 as a gilded ring (ὑπόχρυσος δακτύλιός τις). Some such objects are represented in our relief in which, besides a bowl, the shepherd holds perhaps a ring and it is by no means unlikely that in this detail Menander followed the text of Euripides more closely than did Hyginus. However, one always must be reminded that neither Menander nor the short text of Hyginus are full substitutes for the lost drama and that we have not therefore a sufficient basis for an exact interpretation of any scene which one tries to relate to this drama.

This difficulty was much felt by scholars who tried to identify scenes from the *Alope* on classical monuments. There is a sarcophagus in the Villa Pamfili, in Rome, whose front side Winckelmann³³ explained as episodes of the Alope story and his identification, though with certain deviations in detail, was maintained by several scholars after him³⁴ until Carl Robert proved convincingly its untenableness.³⁵ If Winckelmann were right, the second scene of the front side would represent the same event as our silver relief — i.e., the arbitration before Cercyon, but in the sarcophagus only one man is brought before the king instead of two, and he is brought by force, while the meaning of the text implies that the shepherds decided to go by their own wish. These and still other features such as the costumes speak against Winckelmann's thesis.

There seems to be only one representation of the Alope story in classical art upon which archaeologists have generally agreed and this is a fragment of a fourth-century vase in Tübingen which depicts the child Hippothoon suckled by a mare, while a woman with torches, personifying the nymph Eleusis, watches.³⁶ Séchan assumes an influence from the play of Euripides in this vase fragment.³⁷ But because of the personification who certainly took no active part in the play, and because of the suckling by the mare which, if mentioned at all, could have been related only as an event of the past, the vase painting cannot be considered as an illustration of the drama in the same sense as the scene on the silver bowl.

THE BACCHAE

The third scene (Fig. 6) consists of a youthful warrior and two bearded older men, both wearing low boots. The one in the center, clad in a short-sleeved tunic and a small

31. Stephani, *Compte-rendu de St. Petersburg pour l'année 1864*, p. 157.

32. M. Andrewes, “Euripides and Menander,” *Classical Quarterly*, XVIII, 1924, p. 7; F. Wehrli, *Motivstudien zur Griechischen Komödie*, Zurich, 1936, pp. 118 ff.

33. *Mon. ant. ined.*, 2nd ed., II, Pt. II, Rome, 1821, pp. 123 ff., pl. 92.

34. F. G. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, II, 1850, pp. 203 ff., pl. x, 17; Stephani, *op. cit.*, pp. 159 ff.; F. Matz and

F. von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, Leipzig, 1881, II, p. 252, No. 2888.

35. *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 3, p. 525, pl. CXLII, No. 436 and *Archaeologische Hermeneutik*, Berlin, 1919, pp. 397 ff., figs. 291–294.

36. C. Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*, Reutlingen, 1924, p. 56, No. E 180, pl. 39.

37. *Op. cit.*, pp. 249 ff. and fig. 74.



FIG. 1. Leningrad, Hermitage: Kustanai Bowl, Admetus and Alcestis



FIG. 2. Paris, Bibl. Nationale: Etruscan Vase, Admetus and Alcestis



FIG. 3. Codex Pighianus, Hermes and a Deceased Man



FIG. 4a and b. Florence, Uffizi: Sarcophagus, Hermes and Heracles with Alcestis



FIG. 5. Judgment Scene from the Alope



FIG. 6. Tiresias, Cadmus, and Pentheus



FIG. 7. Ion, Creusa, Leader of the Chorus



FIG. 8. Creusa and the Old Servant

FIGS. 5-8. LENINGRAD, HERMITAGE: KUSTANAI BOWL

mantle around his neck, holds the wrist and touches the shoulder of the man at the right, who is represented nude except for a mantle which covers the thighs and is thrown over the left shoulder. Both elders raise one leg slightly, giving the effect of an unbalanced position which the artist may have intended as the reason why one grasps the other as if to steady him. Both look intensely at the youthful, strong warrior in heroic nakedness, who has a small mantle fastened around his neck, the end of which falls over the left shoulder. He leans upon a lance while his right hand holds a shield. His head is thrust up in an attitude that makes a brusque impression, as if he were rebuffing the older men in front of him.

All these features are so characteristic that an identification of this scene as one from the *Bacchae* of Euripides meets no difficulties. After the prologue spoken by Dionysus and the first parodos of the chorus, two old men appear on the stage, first Tiresias, the seer, and shortly afterward Cadmus, the former king of Thebes, who has given up the rule in favor of his grandson Pentheus. The two old men are the first converts to the Dionysian cult newly introduced in Thebes. They intend to worship Dionysus in the Dionysian manner and Cadmus addresses Tiresias (verses 184-189):

ποῖ δεῖ χορεύειν, ποῖ καθιστάναι πόδα
καὶ κῤῥα σείσαι πολίον; ἔξηγοῦ σύ μοι
γέρων γέροντι, Τειρεσία· σὺ γὰρ σοφός.
ὥς οὐ κάμοιμ' ἂν οὔτε νύκτ' οὔθ' ἡμέραν
θύρσῳ κροτῶν γῆν· ἐπιελήσμεθ' ἡδέως
γέροντες ὄντες.

Where shall we dance now and where plant the foot,
And toss the silvered head? Instruct thou me;
Let eld guide eld, Teiresias: wise art thou.
I shall not weary, nor by night nor day,
Smiting on earth the thyrsus. We forget
In joy our age.

And Tiresias answers (verses 189-190):

ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ πάσχεις ἄρα·
κάγῳ γὰρ ἡβῶ κάπιχειρήσω χοροῖς.

Thine heart is even as mine.
I, too, am young, I will essay the dance.

It is this Dionysian dance of the two elders which is clearly depicted in the relief. They stamp the ground, raising their legs slightly in a heavy clumsy way. The text also makes it clear which of the two is Tiresias, which Cadmus, since the latter invites the seer (verse 197):

μακρὸν τὸ μέλλειν· ἀλλ' ἐμῆς ἔχου χερός.

Too long we linger. Come grasp thou mine hand

and Tiresias answers (verse 198):

ἰδοῦ, ξύναπτε καὶ ξυνωρίζου χέρα.

Lo there: clasp close the interlinking hand.

So the grasping man at the left is Tiresias, while the man who needs the support at the right is Cadmus. One might have come to the same conclusion on the basis of the costumes because heroic nakedness, save for a mantle, fits the former king just as full clothing is suitable to the seer. While they dance, Pentheus, the present king of Thebes, enters the

stage. He has heard of the successes of the new cult, which he despises, and meeting Tiresias and his grandfather, he showers reproaches upon them in an angry mood (verses 248 ff.):

ἀτὰρ τόδ' ἄλλο θαῦμα, τὸν τερασκόπον
ἐν ποικίλαισι νεβρίσι Τειρεσίαν ὄρῳ
πατέρα τε μητρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς, πολὺν γέλων,
νάρθηκι βακχεύοντ' ἀναίνομαι, πάτερ,
τὸ γῆρας ὑμῶν εἰσορῶν νοῦν οὐκ ἔχον.

But lo, another marvel this — the seer
Tiresias, in dappled fawnskins clad!
Yea, and my mother's sire — O sight for laughter! —
Tossing the reed-wand! Father, I take shame
Beholding these grey hairs so sense-bereft.

Thus the third person in the relief is Pentheus, who rejects the two elders. His deep indignation is well portrayed by the manner in which he lifts up his head. The whole representation has a high dramatic quality and the artist follows extremely closely the text of Euripides, save that such attributes of the two elders as the fawnskin of Tiresias and the reed wand of Cadmus are not depicted. They might have been, however, in the model and have later been eliminated as the result of a long copying process.

In classical art one particular scene from this drama is found quite frequently: the death of Pentheus, where the king, always represented strong and youthful as on the silver cup, is either ambushed by the Maenads or already seized by the hands of the furious daughters of Cadmus or even torn to pieces by them. This theme occurs in various vase paintings,³⁸ in a Pompeian fresco from the Casa dei Vettii³⁹ and on several sarcophagi.⁴⁰ On one of the latter in the Villa Giustiniani⁴¹ certain features correspond particularly well to the text, for instance the grasping of Pentheus' left arm by his mother Agave, who at the same time "set against the wretch's ribs her foot." As long as the scene of the Kustanai bowl was unidentified, Robert's statement was justified that the scene of Pentheus' death on the sarcophagi was the only existing close illustration of the text of Euripides, compared with so many representations in other works of art which show a less distinct influence of this drama.

THE ION

Scene A

The fourth scene (Fig. 7) consisting likewise of three figures, depicts in the center a richly draped woman in a very dignified position, who rests her right arm upon a high pedestal. Though she is represented nearly frontal, her head is turned toward the right, where a youth, apparently not yet an adult, attracts her attention. This youth, nude save for a small mantle around his neck, stands on the threshold of a doorway which consists of a simple framework whose lintel is decorated with a rinceau. He holds a branch with long leaves in his right hand in a very pronounced way, leaving no doubt that it is an attribute important for the meaning of the scene. Behind the central figure stands a second woman, likewise richly clothed, and with a mantle the end of which flutters upward. Her right side, includ-

38. O. Jahn, *Pentheus und die Maenaden*, Kiel, 1841; P. Hartwig, "Der Tod des Pentheus," *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, VII, 1892, pp. 153 ff.; J. E. Sandys, *The Bacchae of Euripides*, 4th ed., 1900, pp. CXXI ff.; Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque*, pp. 308 ff.; L. Curtius, "Pentheus," 88. *Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1929; H. Philippart, "Iconographie des Bacchantes d'Euripide," *Revue Belge de Philol. et d'Hist.*, IX, 1930, pp. 5 ff.

39. P. Herrmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums*, Munich, p. 54 (older literature cited), pl. 42.

40. C. Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 3, p. 520, pl. CXXXIX, No. 434 c.

41. G. E. Rizzo, *Bull. comunale di Roma*, XXXIII, 1905, p. 38, pls. III-IV.

ing the whole right arm, is overlapped by the Cadmus of the preceding scene. She holds in her left hand a vessel which is tipped, so that the contents if it had any, would pour out.

All these features find their explanation in the initial scene of the *Ion* of Euripides. The play starts with a prologue of Hermes delivered in the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi, at the end of which the herald of the Gods points at Ion coming out of the temple and speaks the following words (verses 78 ff.):

ὄρῳ γὰρ ἐκβαίνοντα Λοξίου γόνον
τόνδ', ὡς πρὸ ναοῦ λαμπρὰ θῆῃ πυλώματα
δάφνης κλάδοισιν . . .

For yonder see I Loxias' child come forth
To make the temple-portals bright with boughs
Of bay . . .

This is the very moment represented in the relief: Ion steps out of the door of the temple of Apollo, holding in his right hand the laurel branch, which is not only mentioned by Hermes, but by Ion himself (verses 102 ff.):

ἡμεῖς δὲ, πόνους οὓς ἐκ παιδὸς
μοχθοῦμεν αἰεὶ, πτόρθοισι δάφνης
στέφεσιν θ' ἱεροῖς ἐσόδους Φοίβου
καθαρὰς θήσομεν, . . .

And I in the toil that is mine — mine now,
And from childhood up, — with the bay's young bough,
And with wreathed garlands holy, will cleanse
The portals of Phoebus . . .

Moreover, Ion sings a long strophe in behalf of the laurel branch (verses 112 ff.):

ἄγ' ὦ νεηθαλὲς ὦ
καλλίστας προπόλευμα δάφνας,
ἅ τὰν Φοίβου θυμέλαν
σαίρεις, ὑπὸ ναοῖς
κήπων ἐξ ἀθανάτων,

Come, branch in thy freshness yet blowing,
God's minister, loveliest bay,
Over the altar-steps glide:
In the gardens immortal, beside
His temple, hath burgeoned thy pride.

Obviously Euripides attaches great importance to this attribute, and this makes it understandable why the artist of the bowl likewise focuses the attention so much on it. Ion's first words, however, when he comes forth from the temple, are addressed to the rising sun (verses 82-83):

ἄρματα μὲν τάδε λαμπρὰ τεθρίππων
ἥλιος ἤδη λάμπει κατὰ γῆν,

Lo, yonder the Sun-god is turning to earthward his
splendour-blazing Chariot of light.

Therefore we are inclined to interpret the double lined segment above the two women as part of the sundisk.

Meanwhile the chorus, consisting of Creusa's handmaids, comes in and begins a dialogue with Ion. After admiring the statues in the court of the sanctuary, the chorus asks Ion's per-

mission to enter and visit the temple. Ion will give his permission provided an offering is made before they enter (verses 226-229):

εἰ μὲν ἐθύσατε πέλανον πρὸ δόμων
καὶ τι πυθέσθαι χρήζετε Φοίβου,
πάριτ' εἰς θυμέλας, ἐπὶ δ' ἀσφάκτοις
μήλοισι δόμων μὴ πάριτ' εἰς μυχόν.

If a cake ye have cast on the forecourt's altar-fire,
And if there be aught that of Phoebus ye fain would inquire,
Draw nigh to the altar-steps: into the inner fane
Pass none, but with bloodshed of sheep for the sacrifice slain.

And the answer of the chorus reveals that it consents to this requirement (verse 230):

ἔχω μαθοῦσα·
θεοῦ δὲ νόμον οὐ παραβαίνομεν·

All this understand I aright:
We would trespass on naught by the God's law hidden.

The word for offering is *πέλανος* which Way translated as "cake." However *πέλανος* also means "a mixture offered to the gods of meal, honey and oil, liquid enough to be poured."⁴² This latter meaning must have been in the mind of the inventor of the relief composition and perhaps also of Euripides himself. The woman, in whom we recognize the leader of the chorus performing the prescribed offering, holds in her lowered left hand a lustral bowl in an oblique position by which the artist apparently intended to indicate that she is pouring out the contents.

At the time the chorus is ready to enter the temple, Creusa, its mistress, appears upon the stage with an attitude that elicits Ion's praise by the following words (verses 237-240):

γενναιότης σοι, καὶ τρόπων τεκμήριον
τὸ σχῆμ' ἔχεις τόδ', ἥ τις εἴ ποτ', ὦ γύναι.
γνοίη δ' ἄν ὥς τὰ πολλά γ' ἀνθρώπου πέρι
τὸ σχῆμ' ἰδὼν τις εἰ πέφυκεν εὐγενής.

High birth is thine, and carriage consonant
Thereto, O lady, whoso'er thou be.
Yea, in a man oft-times may one discern,
Marking his bearing, strain of gentle blood.

This characterization fits well the dignity which the artist attached to the central figure who now can be named Creusa, as she commences a long inquisitive dialogue with Ion (verses 237-400). It may seem strange to see the leader of the chorus associated with Creusa and Ion, but it must be kept in mind that we are not dealing with representations copying actual stage performances, but rather with illustrations made directly from the text. Moreover, our case is not without a parallel in classical art. In the famous painted marble tablet from Herculaneum, which depicts a scene from Euripides' *Hippolytus*, the conversation between Phaedra and her nurse is attended by a third person, whom Robert identifies with good reason as the leader of the chorus.⁴³

So far classical archaeology has not been successful in finding precise illustrations of Euripides' *Ion* either in painting or in sculpture. A painted vase from Nola in the museum of Kassel had been associated with the *Ion* by Gerhard but his interpretation remains contro-

42. Liddell-Scott-Jones, Greek-English Lexikon, s.v. *πέλανος*.

43. 22. *Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1898, pp. 19 ff., pl. II.

versial.⁴⁴ According to him the vase represents the moment when Creusa, after her plot to kill Ion with poison has failed, takes refuge on the sacred altar, while Ion pursues and threatens her with a sword (verses 1252 ff.). But the matricide is prevented by the intervention of Apollo, who leans upon his holy laurel tree. Vogel rejects Gerhard's identification on the ground that not Apollo, but Pythia, intervenes in Euripides.⁴⁵ This fact certainly excludes the vase from being a precise illustration of the Euripides text. Séchan tries to reinstate Gerhard's interpretation and sees at least a reflection of Euripides' *Ion* in the vase, although he admits that not all details agree literally with the text, as they hardly ever do in South Italian vases of the fourth century.⁴⁶ But there are still other objections to be raised against Gerhard's identification. In the Kustanai bowl Creusa is a woman of matronly dignity, with a long married life behind her (verse 304), and Ion obviously is not yet an adult. This relationship between mother and son, in full agreement with the text, is nearly reversed in the Kassel vase, where the woman on the altar looks very virginal and the attacker like a grown-up hero. But regardless of whether the Kassel vase reflects an influence of Euripides or not, the scene of the Kustanai bowl can be considered the only really precise illustration of Euripides' *Ion* known thus far. This certainly makes necessary a revision of Robert's categorical statement "Für Sage, Poesie und Kunst bleibt *Ion* eine Null,"⁴⁷ at least as far as the fine arts are concerned.

Scene B

A fifth scene is enclosed in the central medallion (Fig. 8) consisting of only two figures that are very well adjusted to the circular frame. At the right we see a woman in a seated position, though no trace of a seat is visible. She is draped in a long chiton, which falls down over her feet, and in a mantle, one end of which lies over her knees, while the other is thrown over her left shoulder and wound around her left arm. She is draped exactly as was Creusa in the preceding scene, though it looks at first glance as if the upper part of her body may be nude. This impression is partly due to the abrasion of the surface which has suffered here more than in other parts of the bowl. Her right arm is stretched forward, not in a gesture of speech, but as if she were offering a small object to the person before her. The latter is an aged man, bowed and tottering, not unlike Cadmus and Tiresias in the scene from the *Bacchae*. Though his head is very much rubbed, its outline clearly indicates that he was bearded. He raises his right hand in a typical gesture of speech as if he were arguing vigorously with the woman, while the left forms a fist with its fingers clenched together.

We are dealing here with a rather conventional composition of two persons disputing with each other, so that if such a representation were isolated, it hardly would seem advisable to try any identification at all. However, since it appears with a series of illustrations from Euripides, an attempt may be made to interpret it as Euripidean. At first glance our chances for an identification look rather small because the old man, who, judging from his costume, is either a servant or a messenger, is too familiar a figure in the Euripidean cast, and in no less than six of the preserved dramas alone, he faces a woman in an important conversation. Still there is one point in the relief that eliminates most conversation scenes of this kind — the presentation by the woman of an object which must have been an important subject of the talk. For this reason we can exclude, for instance, the scene in the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, where the old servant, devoted to Clytaemnestra, reveals to his mistress the secret of Agamemnon's real intention which is the sacrifice of Iphigenia (verses 866 ff.), while Clytaemnestra herself remains quite passive. This scene is illustrated on a Megarian bowl⁴⁸

44. "Ion und Kreusa," *Arch. Ztg.*, x, 1852, pp. 401 ff., pl. XXXVII, No. 1.

45. Julius Vogel, *Scenen Euripidäischer Tragödien in Griechischen Vasengemälden*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 145.

46. *Op. cit.*, p. 367, fig. 106.

47. Preller-Robert, *Griechische Heldensage*, 4th ed., Berlin, 1920, II, 1, p. 149.

48. Robert, 50. *Winckelmannsprogramm*, p. 51, fig. 1 and p. 55.

where the type of servant is not unlike that of the Kustanai bowl, but Clytaemnestra merely touches her chin thoughtfully with her hand as she listens to the servant's accusations. For a similar reason we are not concerned with a scene in the *Orestes* where a messenger tells Electra that she and her brother Orestes have been condemned to death by the people in the assembly (verses 852-959), or with one in the *Heraclidae* where a servant reports to Alcmena the victory of the Athenians and the capture of Eurystheus by Iolaus (verses 748 ff.), or with another in the *Phoenissae*, at the beginning of which an old servant talks with Antigone, showing her the Argive army from the roof of the palace (verses 88 ff.), because all these instances do not explain the offering of an object by the woman. More relevant is a scene from the *Electra*, where an old man with "eld-wrinkled feet," "age cramped spine" and "bowing knees" (verses 490 ff.) tells Electra that he has found a black sheep sacrificed at Agamemnon's tomb and locks of hair which, he believes, belonged to Orestes. He has brought the hair with him and gives it to Electra to compare with her own (verses 508 ff.). Could it be that the object in the woman's hand on the silver cup is the lock of Orestes' hair? Tempting as such an interpretation may be, we have two scruples against it. First, the woman seems to give and the servant to receive, and secondly we should expect a lock of hair to be rendered more discernibly, hanging from the hand which holds it as in the fresco from the *domus aurea*⁴⁹ which Robert explains as Ciris offering the purple hair of her father Nisus to Minos.⁵⁰

The explanation which seems preferable to us is provided once more by the *Ion*, though we admit that it is not quite so striking as the preceding one. After Xuthus, Creusa's husband, who has decided to take Ion with him to Athens, has left the stage with the boy, an old servant, who is the pedagogue, and Creusa appear together. The servant betrays to his mistress Xuthus' intention to designate Ion as his heir. In the course of this dialogue Creusa makes up her mind to get rid of Ion by means of poison. The devoted servant willingly consents to carry out this crime in behalf of his offended mistress. It is this decisive conversation which we believe represented in the silver cup, the conversation which gives to the hitherto happy play a tragic turn. The tottering attitude of the old man who was already the child-ward of Creusa's father Erechtheus, is well accounted for in the text (verses 742 ff.). Working out all details of her vicious plot against Ion, Creusa finally gives the servant a drop of poison, deadly venom of the Gorgon's snakes (verses 1029 ff.):

οἶσθ' οὖν ὃ δρᾶσον; χειρὸς ἐξ ἐμῆς λαβὼν
 χρύσωμ' Ἀθάνας τόδε, παλαιὸν ὄργανον,

κάθεα βαλὼν εἰς πῶμα τῷ νεανίᾳ,
 ἰδίᾳ δέ, μή τι πᾶσι, χωρίσας ποτόν
 τῷ τῶν ἐμῶν μέλλοντι δεσπόζειν δόμων.

Know'st then thy part? Receive thou from mine hand
 Athena's golden vial, wrought of gold.

And swiftly drop into the stripling's cup, —
 That for his drinking, not the general bowl, —
 Even his who seeks to lord it o'er mine house.

The object, which contains the poison, is called χρύσωμα — "that which is made of gold." Way's translation as "vial" is very convincing since a phial was at all times used as a container of poison. Creusa had it hanging apparently as a little appendage on her bracelet

49. F. Weege, "Das Goldene Haus des Nero," *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, XXVIII, 1913, p. 233, figs. 68-70; here inter-

preted as Paris and Helen brought together by Aphrodite.

50. *Hermes*, XLIX, 1914, p. 158.

(verse 1007: χρυσοῖσι δαεμοῖς),⁵¹ and since it contained only one single drop of venom, it probably was of such small size that either the artist of the silver cup could not depict it clearly, or if he succeeded in doing so, it easily might have been rubbed off. That it is an important object which she hands over to the old man is emphasized by Creusa's tense and slightly bowed attitude. Unexplained is the sitting position of the woman. But this might merely be the result of a compositional necessity. How could the artist, even if he wanted to, depict Creusa upright in the dignified attitude of the preceding scene? It may be that the lack of any trace of a seat is a direct indication that in the model Creusa actually was standing.

III — THE STROGANOFF BOWL

A bowl similar to that from Kustanai in shape and type of narrative illustration, was formerly in the Stroganoff Collection of St. Petersburg and later entered the Hermitage in Leningrad (Figs. 9–12). It is not known when the cup was found, but around 1840 it was already in possession of the Stroganoff family and since then had been published several times before Smirnov incorporated it in his volume of plates.⁵² There is also no record about its provenance, and Gerhard's statement that it was found near Kertsch in the Taurian Chersonese has no foundation and reflects only the general sentiment of his generation that anything Greek on Russian soil must come from the Crimea. There is an inscription determined by some scholars as Soghdian, which unfortunately no one seems to have been able to decipher as yet.⁵³

One of the scenes (Figs. 11–12) depicts a couple seated with crossed legs on a rug-covered bench with lion's feet and attended by a large servant, who offers a cup with one hand and holds two pitchers in the other. The chief figure of the next scene (Fig. 9) is a nude hero in repose holding a club in his left hand and conversing with a satyr-like bearded man in front of him. Finally, in the third and last scene (Fig. 10) the same hero is about to kill with his club a man who tries to defend himself with a dagger. The cause of their fight seems to be the slain boar which lies on the ground. Monkeys and another satyr-like figure with a wine-skin fill the space between the scenes (Figs. 10 and 12). The central medallion is occupied by a monster-head. A simple string of pearls decorates the rim of the vessel; just as in the Kustanai cup, but in the Stroganoff cup it is supplemented by a wave crest.

Several attempts have been made to explain the strange scenes of this second cup. First Eduard Gerhard realized that the cup as a whole, in spite of a foreign admixture, is a product of Greek art grown wild, though he is merely descriptive and does not suggest any particular story. The first scene with the feasting couple (Fig. 11) he takes to be a marriage festival, the reclining figure of the second scene (Fig. 9) he calls Zeus (though what he believes to be a scepter apparently is a club) and the third (Fig. 10) he considers to be a sacrifice performed by two camilli, who slaughter the victims in preparation for the feast. Only for curiosity's sake the opinion of Franz von Erdmann may be mentioned, who several times ardently defended the idea that the cup represents an event of Russian history around 1400. The feasting couple is explained as the Grand Duke Wassily Dmitriewitsch with his spouse Sophie, after having defeated Witowt, the Lithuanian Duke, and Tuck-

51. Cf. Owen's commentary to verse 1431 in his edition of Euripides' *Ion*, Oxford, 1939, p. 169: "She need not have given the whole bracelet to the old man, but only the pyx, that contained the poison."

52. E. Gerhard, "Über ein Silbergefäß des Grafen Stroganoff," *Arch. Ztg.*, I, 1843, p. 161, pl. x; F. von Erdmann, "Stroganow'sches Silbergefäß," *Arch. Ztg.*, IX, 1851, pp. 298 ff.; *idem*, *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, 1851, pp. 242 ff.; *idem*, "Vollständige Erklärung des in der Antiken Sammlung des

Grafen Sergius Stroganow befindlichen Silbergefäßes," *Arch. Ztg.*, XVIII, 1860, after p. 96 (here the Russian literature quoted); Smirnov, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII, No. 67; S. Reinach, *Rep. de Reliefs*, Paris, 1912, III, p. 520, No. 2; A. von Le Coq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittelasiens*, Berlin, 1925, p. 49, fig. 36; E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, 1927, p. 43, fig. 26, No. 4.

53. Rostovtzeff, *Sem. Kondak.*, VI, p. 180, note 44.

tamisch-Chan, the ruler of Kiptschack, who had taken refuge at the Lithuanian court. The dead boar is supposed to symbolize the defeated Tucktamisch-Chan himself, and the hero in repose is identified as Witowt on the throne that is already tottering. Finally Witowt, in von Erdmann's opinion, appears again in the form of a fettered suckling pig, meant to symbolize his defeat, and is carried to the throne of the Grand Duke by a subordinate (Von Erdmann thus confuses the pig with the wine-skin carried by a satyr). Too obvious an absurdity to be refuted in detail, this explanation is worth mentioning at all only because the cup in the first decades after its discovery was so unique and so unrelated to any piece of art known at that time that archaeologists could disagree about its date by more than a millennium and go down for its subject matter into late mediaeval Russian history.

A third attempt to interpret the Stroganoff cup was made by Rostovtzeff along the same lines he had followed in explaining the Kustanai cup.⁵⁴ He assumes the scenes to be illustrations from the life of an Iranian hero: "(I) (Fig. 9) the message about him delivered to an aged hero by a peasant, (II) (Fig. 10) the fight with this aged hero connected in one way or another with the killing of an enormous boar, and finally (III) (Fig. 11) a victory banquet with his spouse and his coronation by Ormuzd." But then he adds: "I must confess, however, that I have found no such story in the epic poetry of the Iranians."

Recently Trever in her book on Greco-Bactrian art⁵⁵ also tried to explain this cup in a way consistent with her previous ideas concerning Indian saga, but in less detail than in the case of the Kustanai cup. The banquet (Fig. 11) she believes, represents at once the coronation and the marriage of an emperor or prince. The imperial or princely couple is served by a man who is interpreted as the seer of the emperor and who carries in two pitchers the holy water of the Indus. The apes with drum and flute are the divine musicians, and the eagle holding the crowning wreath is named Garutmant. The men with club and dagger in the second scene (Fig. 10) supposedly slaughter the boar in preparation for the festival, or perform a ritual sacrifice for the marriage ceremony. Rostovtzeff in his review of the book objected to this description of the action and explained it rightly as a combat of the two men against each other.⁵⁶ The third scene with the reclining man (Fig. 9) according to Trever represents Heracles, an identification which she bases on a similarity with a Heracles type on Bactrian coins of king Euthydemus. Though in our opinion the type on the coins, being derived from a statue, is not the same as that of the leisurely reclining man on the cup, we believe nevertheless that Trever's identification of Heracles is correct. However, in the interpretation of the old man in front of Heracles as a prophet who presumably raises his hands in prayer, or perhaps as the father of the bride, we cannot follow her suggestion. Finally the head in the medallion with the lion's face and with the tongue stretched out is explained as that of a monster which swallowed itself save for its head and then was called Kirtimukha.

The point of departure for interpreting the iconography of this cup as deriving from that of the Megarian bowls is the reclining man whose mighty body and unmistakable club in his left arm leave hardly any doubt that he is indeed Heracles. Furthermore within the realm of Greek art the little figure walking with a staff and carrying a wine-skin (Fig. 12) corresponds to the usual type of satyr. These two figures thus suggest that we are dealing with a *σατυρικός* with Heracles as the hero and a satyr as a representative of the chorus. Since, as was pointed out previously, all dramatic scenes on the Megarian bowls illustrate plays of Euripides, we should look among this poet's satyr plays for a possible explanation. We actually possess illustrations of a satyr play on the jug of Dionysios in Berlin, the scenes of which go back to either the *Sisyphus* or the *Autolycus* of Euripides⁵⁷ so that we have full evidence that this group of dramas of Euripides also had actually been illustrated.

54. Rostovtzeff, *ibid.*, pp. 178 ff., pl. XII, Nos. 4-5.

55. *Op. cit.*, pp. 81 ff., No. 16 and pls. 18-21.

56. *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 299.

57. Cf. note 11.

Among the satyr plays of Euripides which we know there are three which show Heracles as the hero, namely the *Eurystheus*, the *Busiris* and the *Syleus*. But before we can even try to explain the scenes of the Stroganoff cup, we have first to state their lack of homogeneity and the fundamental differences among them. While the scenes with the reclining hero and the killing of an adversary apparently show comparatively slight variations of a Hellenistic model, the banquet is so completely oriental in its character that it becomes questionable whether there is any classical model for it at all. In other words, an attempt to identify the subject matter as Euripidean has to be made on the basis of the first two scenes only. Another difficulty lies in the fact that so very few verses of the three satyr plays under consideration are preserved, that we are hardly able to determine their plots with any accuracy. Therefore only the most general correspondence, if any, between picture and text can be expected.

Of the *Eurystheus* we know so little that it is not even clear whether the bringing of Cerberus or of the Erymanthian boar to the frightened Eurystheus was the central theme.⁵⁸ Could the existence of a boar behind the fighters in one scene (Fig. 10) perhaps be taken as an indication of the Erymanthian adventure of Heracles? According to the general conception of this myth the boar is brought alive, while the boar on the cup is obviously dead, but it is primarily the killing of an adversary by Heracles which does not fit any episode of Eurystheus, since the latter was at no time personally attacked by his mighty servant. Therefore the *Eurystheus* has to be excluded as a possible source. Of the satyr play *Busiris* even less is preserved⁵⁹ and we have to consult mythographical writers such as Apollodorus (II. v. 11) and others in order to learn the peculiar circumstances of this adventure though without being able to make sure how close their reports agree with Euripides. According to the mythographical tradition, Heracles is brought fettered to an altar to be sacrificed by Busiris, the king of Egypt, but then the hero breaks his bonds and kills Busiris, his son Iphidamas and many other Egyptians. Could it be that the fight on the cup depicts the killing of Busiris? First of all Heracles, after having freed himself from the bonds, hardly could have his club immediately at his disposal, and most probably killed all the Egyptians with his bare arms as he does on a hydria from Caere considerably earlier than Euripides.⁶⁰ Still another reason for excluding the *Busiris* is the absence of an altar, that hardly could be missing as an indication of the locality.

There remains the *Syleus*, the satyr play which in our opinion has the best chance of being represented on the cup. Of this satyr play we have more fragments preserved than of the others and in addition to them short descriptions of its content in Tzetzes and Philo, which give at least some indication of the nature of the plot.⁶¹ Heracles, in order to atone for one of the many killings which he had done unintentionally, is sold by Hermes to Syleus as a slave. Syleus sends him to work in his vineyard, where, making too much use of his strength, he tears up the vines. Resting from this deed, and after having killed a bull of Syleus' kine, Heracles starts to feast and drink and finally seems to have slain Syleus himself, who had resented the hero's behavior. Since, however, neither Tzetzes nor Philo mentions this slaying, it is not absolutely sure that it actually took place, though this is generally assumed and undoubtedly accords very well with the character of Heracles.⁶²

If our supposition is right, the first scene (Fig. 9) can be explained as Heracles reclining in a leisurely attitude after the completion of his deeds in the vineyard. His left hand

58. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*², p. 474, Nos. 371-380; Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 247 ff.; Schmid-Stählin, *Griechische Literatur*, p. 625.

59. Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 452, Nos. 313-315; Bates, *Euripides*, p. 234; Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 624.

60. *Mon. d. Inst.*, VIII, 16; Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Vasenmalerei*, pl. 51.

61. Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 575, Nos. 687-694; O. Jahn,

"Herakles und Syleus," *Arch. Ztg.*, XIX, 1861, p. 157, pls. CXLIX-CL; Kuhnert in Roscher, *Mythologisches Lexikon*, s.v. *Syleus*; Preller-Robert, *Griechische Heldensage*, II, 2, 1921, p. 520; Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 293; Türk in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*, s.v. *Syleus*; Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 625.

62. Cf. Preller-Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 520, note 4.

holds the club, which, as fragment 688 indicates, he does not give up even as a slave of Syleus, and with his right arm he leans upon some kind of support, the full size of which the artist was unable to copy from his model, since the leg of the Heracles of the next scene is overlapping it. The hero is confronted with a small and agile figure who sits on a low seat and talks with vehement gestures, which are successfully contrasted with the hero's repose. His satyr-like motions and his full beard suggest that in all probability he is Silenus himself. It might be remembered that in Euripides' *Cyclops* Silenus plays an important role and that he holds long conversations both with the Cyclops and Odysseus; a similar conversation scene might very well have taken place also in the Syleus.

The second scene (Fig. 10) would then represent the slaying of Syleus by Heracles. The hero, clad in the chlamys as in the preceding scene, is just about to strike with his club, the raising of which undoubtedly betokens the approaching death of his adversary. Syleus tries to counteract the threatening stroke and to attack the hero with a kind of dagger. Behind him on the ground lies a slain animal, indicating the cause of the fight, just as does the slain boar in the illustration of Euripides' *Meleager* on a mosaic in Antioch.⁶³ It is a boar also on the silver cup, but in this fact lies the chief difficulty of our whole interpretation: the fight had indeed begun because of the killing and the sacrificing of one of Syleus' kine, but according to all records of this episode, it was a bull, not a boar. One should not take refuge in an easy explanation that the oriental copyist had misunderstood his model, and replaced one animal with another. So, although several indications in the two scenes discussed thus far seem indeed to point to the *Syleus* of Euripides, it must be admitted that the existence of the boar instead of a bull is a serious obstacle to the certainty of this identification.

As we have mentioned above, the third scene has a totally different character and cannot be considered as an original part of the same narrative cycle. The costumes and the way of sitting are oriental and so is the whole compositional scheme, which represents the veneration of a ruler and has no dramatic quality at all.⁶⁴ To this banquet scene belong also the monkeys, one of which plays the drum and the other the transverse flute. The whole composition, even if one admits in principle the possibility of far-reaching changes of a Hellenistic model into oriental art, is too fundamentally different to make such a transformation likely. On the other hand, if our assumption is right that these oriental silver cups copy Greek ones of a similar shape, then one has to conclude that the banquet takes the place of another scene which in the Hellenistic model most probably was taken from the same source as the others — a satyr play. Since the banquet takes much more space than each of the two Hellenistic scenes and fills nearly half of the frieze, it probably replaces two scenes of the model which then would originally have consisted of four scenes like the Kustanai cup. To one of these two original scenes of the model belongs apparently the satyr with the wine-skin behind the cup-bearer. He can hardly have been conceived for the banquet of an oriental ruler and thus he helps to confirm our assumption of lost Hellenistic scenes of which he formed a part.

It should be remembered that the replacement of a Hellenistic feature by an oriental one occurred also in the Kustanai cup where in the Alope scene (p. 295 and Fig. 5) king Cercyon is replaced by an oriental goddess with a cornucopia. With such cases we will always have to reckon when we deal with monuments reflecting Greek influence in the remotest corner of Hellenistic penetration of the Orient. They are the chief obstacles to an interpretation of such preciseness as we would require in the case of genuine Hellenistic bowls.

The Syleus story is represented on several red-figured vases, first treated by Otto Jahn,

63. K. Weitzmann, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, 1941, p. 235, pl. 67, No. 140, Panel D.

64. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 43.



FIG. 9. Feasting Heracles from the Syleus



FIG. 10. Slaying of Syleus



FIG. 11. Banquet Scene



FIG. 12. Banquet Scene

FIGS. 9-12. LENINGRAD, HERMITAGE; STROGANOFF BOWL



FIG. 13. NEW YORK, KEVORKIAN: SILVER BOWL

whose list of paintings was later augmented. All of them are to be dated in a period earlier than Euripides and they lack the satyrs who are required for an illustration of a satyr play. They depict exclusively the episode of Heracles' destructive labor in the vineyard which later appears again on gems, and therefore this whole group of monuments has no bearing upon the interpretation of the Stroganoff cup.

IV — THE BOWL IN NEW YORK

The exhibition of Persian Art in New York in 1940 brought to light a silver bowl (Fig. 13), supposedly found in northwest India, the decoration of which reveals at the first glance that we are dealing with an object of the same iconographic and stylistic group as the two preceding cups. The organization of its outer surface with a central medallion, the border of which serves at the same time as ground line for an extensive figure frieze, is essentially the same. The general character of the figures, most of whom make lively gestures, is particularly close to the cup from Kustanai, while the ornament at the rim, a string of pearls and a wave crest is identical with that of the Stroganoff cup. The chief difference of the new piece is its flatter shape compared with the more hemispherical bowls discussed before. The medallion of the New York bowl represents an eagle with spread wings which in all probability serves only a decorative purpose and has no significance with regard to the frieze.

In the catalogue of the exhibition, the only place where the new piece is mentioned so far,⁶⁵ an explanation of its scenes is proposed that is based on the Graeco-Iranian pantheon. The old man whom a lady takes by the hand (Fig. 16) is identified as "very probably Anahit, talking to her devoted Verethraghna"; the woman with the child next to them (Fig. 21) as "quite possibly Mother of the Sun with infant Helios-Khvarshedh"; the rider on the winged horse (Fig. 20) as "most probably Mithra"; the man with plate and pitcher (Fig. 23) as "bearded Bacchus" (Sabazius type); and finally the man with the fruit basket (Fig. 22) as "Vertumnus type," with a question mark.

Our thesis is that we are dealing also in this case with scenes from tragedies of Euripides. There is apparently nowhere one and the same figure-type represented twice. From this we surmise that not one single drama is depicted as usually in the Megarian bowls and perhaps also in the Syleus cup, but rather scenes from different dramas as in the cup from Kustanai. The difficulties of interpretation are in some respects aggravated because, if we leave aside the bear-hunting scene which has a separate position, since it is obviously not a scene from a drama at all, only three coherent scenes can be distinguished: namely, the killing of a youth with a club (Fig. 14), the reproach of a standing man by a seated one (Fig. 15), and the old man led by a woman (Fig. 16), while the other figures are single and not related to any neighboring one (Figs. 20-23). These single persons represent most likely the title heroes of dramas in their most characteristic position and attitude. Since scenic representations are more complex and provide more evidence for their identification than single figures, we shall begin our interpretation with the former.

THE MAD HERACLES

A strong man (Fig. 14), clad in a tunic without sleeves and wearing some sort of a headdress, holds with his left hand the neck of a kneeling youth and swings with his right a club with the obvious intention of smashing his victim. The youth, clad merely in a loin cloth, grasps the ground — that is, the frame of the medallion — with his right hand and does not seem to offer any resistance. Behind him in a frontal position stands a woman in a sleeveless garment and with long undulated hair. Her head, in an attitude of grief, is in-

65. Phyllis Ackerman, *Guide to the Exhibition of Persian Art*, New York, 1940, p. 325 (Coll. Kevorkian);

the reproductions in our article were made from a photograph obtained at this exhibition.

clined to her shoulder and her hands are crossed and fettered by a rope which leads to the head of the youth. It looks as if both figures were tied together like captives.

The situation thus described fits that of Heracles who in his madness kills one of his sons while Megara, his wife, whom he is going to kill afterward, looks on. To be even more precise, the slaying of the second son is rendered in accordance with the report of the servant in the *Mad Heracles* (Ἡρακλῆς μαινόμενος) of Euripides. After the servant has told explicitly how Heracles shot his first son with an arrow to the heart, he continues to report the killing of the second son (verses 990–994):

ὁ δ' ἀγριωπὸν ὄμμα Γοργόνοσ' στρέφων,
ὥς ἐντὸς ἔσθ' ἑστὴ παῖς λυγροῦ τοξεύματος,
μυδροκτύπον μίμη' ὑπὲρ κάρ' αὖ βαλὼν
ξύλον καθῆκε παιδὸς εἰς ξανθὸν κάρ',
ἔρρηξε δ' ὅσ' τ' ἄ . . .

He rolling savage gorgon-glaring eyes,
Since the boy stood too near for that fell bow,
Swung back overhead his club, like forging-sledge,
Down dashed it on his own son's golden head,
And shattered all the bones . . .

With his pictorial means the artist of the bowl has rendered the situation very convincingly indeed. We believe with him that the mighty club of Heracles will at the next moment smash the head and all the bones of the kneeling son, who is so terrified that he offers not the slightest opposition. In agreement with the text, Heracles is clad. When he first appears on the stage, just in time to prevent the sacrifice of Megara and his children, his wife spurs on the children (verse 520):

δεῦρ', ὦ τέκν', ἐκκρήμνασθε πατρώων πέπλων
Boys, hither! — hang upon your father's cloak.

His headdress, though it looks like a piece of cloth, may in the Greek model have been perhaps the lion's skin which the oriental copyist did not understand. If our identification is right, then the woman standing behind the slain victims can only be Megara. According to Euripides she is not present while Heracles kills his second son, but she has taken refuge with the third and last son in a neighboring chamber and shut its door. Heracles, however, hurls down the door posts and kills wife and child with one arrow. It seems likely that in adding Megara to the composition the artist, restricted as he was in his space, most probably wanted to allude to the next phase of Heracles' madness — the killing of his wife.

There are, however, reasons to believe that the type of Megara represented on the bowl was not taken from an actual illustration of her killing, but from an earlier scene in the drama. We observed already that she is fettered with a rope. This feature, though nowhere mentioned in the text of Euripides, is to be regarded as an artistic convention used by classical artists in cases where a person is going to be sacrificed, regardless of whether a text refers to it in particular or not. Thus in two vase paintings supposed to be reflections of Euripides' *Antigone* the heroine is depicted as fettered when she is handed over by Creon to his son Haemon to be put to death,⁶⁶ and in representations from the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* on other vases and on sarcophagi Orestes and Pylades are fettered when they are brought to the altar.⁶⁷ It is true that usually the hands are bound behind the body in classical art, but sometimes they are bound in front of it, as on a Pompeian fresco from the Casa del Centenario which will be discussed later (p. 309). We should expect that Megara, while mak-

66. Séchan, *Étude sur la tragédie grecque*, p. 274, figs. 85–86.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 379, figs. 109–110.

ing up her mind to die and to give herself up to Lycus (verses 451 ff.), would be depicted as fettered, but that she would be rendered free of her bonds at the time when Heracles kills her in his madness. The text implies more or less that her hands are free when she and her children are busy preparing the altar for the expiatory sacrifice required for Heracles' killing of Lycus. Thus we suppose that the fettered type of Megara was taken from a representation of her first meeting with her husband when he arrived as liberator just at the moment in which her sacrifice was supposed to take place. If our interpretation is correct, then actually we have a contamination of two scenes from the play. In classical art such contaminations are by no means a rarity where we deal with excerpts from larger narrative cycles from which a copyist desired to extract in condensed form as much content as possible on whatever limited space was available to him. We noticed a similar case already on the cup from Kustanai (cf. p. 294 and Fig. 1), where the Apollo from the prologue of the *Alcestis* and the farewell scene proper were merged into one composition.

As far as our knowledge goes, only one attempt, and not a too successful one, has hitherto been made to connect a classical monument with the *Mad Heracles*. Dieterich — and several scholars followed him, though with hesitation — explained a fresco of the Casa del Centenario which depicts Heracles, a fettered woman accompanied by a bald man and a king who reclines on some steps,⁶⁸ as an illustration of the *Amphitruo* of Accius, and he assumed that it was based on an illustration of the *Heracles* of Euripides. The woman in the center he interpreted as Megara and the bald-headed man behind her as Amphitryon, while the reclining king was considered to be Lycus. However, first Wilamowitz,⁶⁹ and after him particularly Robert⁷⁰ have brought forward many well-founded arguments against Dieterich's identification: Lycus, as they argue, is not present when Heracles meets Megara and Amphitryon; furthermore Robert argued that the bald-headed man who is thrust somewhat into the background could not be the proud Amphitryon; and, most important, he remarked that the children of Heracles are missing. Now it may be observed that the woman whom Dieterich calls Megara is rendered with her hands fettered over the lap, not unlike the figure we identified as Megara on our silver bowl, and this, at first glance, might, perhaps, speak in favor of Dieterich's interpretation after all. However, as we have already remarked, the fettering of hands is not specific enough a feature to be applied to Megara exclusively. Robert interpreted the Pompeian fresco as a scene from the *Auge* of Euripides, but in his later writings he did not maintain this explanation.⁷¹ So whatever the content of this fresco may be, Robert's objections against its being from the *Mad Heracles* are still unrefuted. Thus the representation on the bowl, if our interpretation is correct, would be the first known illustration of this great tragedy.

THE HIPPOLYTUS CROWNED

Seated on a folding chair (Fig. 15) which is covered with a lion or panther skin, we see a strong man who is clad in what looks like a tunic with half-length sleeves. His left arm leans upon the hilt of a mighty sword which hangs on a *balteus*, while his right hand, with the index and middle finger extended, is raised in a gesture which indicates that he is addressing another man standing in front of him. The second man wears a tunic with long sleeves and wide trousers, similar to those worn by Persian hunters on works of Sasanian art. He turns his head away from the seated man as if trying to evade the firm look of his opponent. His arms are crossed in front of his chest and his right hand is turned back.

In the *Hippolytus Crowned* (Ἰππόλυτος στεφανηφόρος) of Euripides there is a scene

68. A. Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 1 ff., pl. 1.

69. *Götting. Gelehrt. Anz.*, 1897, p. 507.

70. C. Robert, "Kentaurenkampf und Tragödien-

scene," 22. *Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1898, pp. 30, 38 ff.

71. *Götting. Gelehrt. Anz.*, 1916, p. 156.

which fits the situation thus described. Theseus, after his return to Troezen, has found in the hands of Phaedra, who had just committed suicide, a letter with false accusations against his son Hippolytus, pretending that he had been the guilty party in a love affair with her. Theseus immediately believes in these accusations and, after Hippolytus has entered the stage, a violent dispute takes place between the two. The father assails his son bitterly and there is a phrase in his reproach which implies that Hippolytus has suddenly turned away his head, a gesture which Theseus misinterprets as avowed guilt (verses 946-947):

δείξον δ', ἐπειδὴ γ' εἰς μίᾱσμ' ἐλήλυθας,
τὸ σὸν πρόσωπον δεῦρ' ἐναντίον πατρί.

Nay, show thy face — since thou hast come to this,
This foulness, — look thy father in the face!

Precisely these two verses seem to have been the basis upon which the composition of our relief is made. It is Hippolytus who turns his head away and it is Theseus who sits in front of him and raises his hand in support of his accusations. Now also the rather awkward attitude of Hippolytus' hands becomes understandable as an expression of great embarrassment, caused by Theseus' violent and unjustified accusations as well as by his self-imposed restraint, which is motivated by the oath he had given to Phaedra's nurse not to reveal her mistress' love sickness. Furthermore, the pointing gesture of the seated king is well explained by the immediately preceding verses (943-945):

σκέψασθε δ' εἰς τόνδ', ὅστις ἐξ ἐμοῦ γεγώς
ἤσχυνε τὰ μὰ λέκτρα κάξελέγχεται
πρὸς τῆς θανούσης ἐμφανῶς κάκιστος ὢν.

Look on this man, who, though he be my son,
Hath shamed my couch, and shall be manifest proved
Most vile, by testimony of the dead.

The details of the costume are also fitting to both heroes. Whoever first clad Hippolytus in oriental trousers — whether the craftsman of this actual bowl or an earlier copyist of the Greek model — must have been aware that he was dealing with a hunter. Moreover, his endowing Theseus so prominently with a big sword is an impressive reminder of the king's earliest deed when he had lifted the rock under which the sword of his father Aegeus was hidden. The lion or panther skin on which he is seated occurs quite similarly in a Theseus scene on a sarcophagus.

The *Hippolytus* of Euripides has left many traces in the representational arts. Most frequently chosen are the scenes of Phaedra's love sickness and of Hippolytus' refusal of Phaedra's proposal transmitted by her nurse, but other scenes of the drama also occur. They are found in various media: vase-paintings,⁷² sarcophagi,⁷³ a marble tablet from Herculaneum,⁷⁴ and, more recently, a mosaic from Antioch.⁷⁵ Close parallels to the composition of our silver bowl, however, exist apparently only on two sarcophagi which characteristically enough belong to the Greek class of Hippolytus sarcophagi, and here they occur not in their pure state, but in a mixture with other elements of the same drama. On the short side of a sarcophagus in the museum of Arles (Fig. 17)⁷⁶ we recognize Theseus, seated on a low chair which, as on our bowl, is covered with a lion or panther skin. With his right hand he leans heavily on the chair, while his left held a sword which is now broken away, but according to Robert's description, must have been prominently displayed, because traces of its

72. Séchan, *op. cit.*, pp. 323 ff.

73. Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 2, pp. 169 ff.

74. Robert, "Tragödienscene," 22. *Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1898, p. 14, pl. II.

75. Weitzmann, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, p. 233, pl. 67, No. 140, Panel B.

76. Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 2, pp. 196, pl. L, No. 160 a.

hilt are visible on the chlamys of the young man standing behind. Theseus' head is lost, but it seems to be quite sure that originally he looked at his son standing in front of him. As in the scene of the bowl Hippolytus turns his head away from his father and looks somewhat forlornly into distant space. Apparently the same moment of the drama is represented in these two figures of the Arles sarcophagus, but here the similarities end and there are essential differences which make it doubtful or at least unprovable that the iconography of the silver bowl and the sarcophagus relief belong ultimately to the same tradition. The Hippolytus of the sarcophagus leans upon a spear with his right hand and holds a sword in his left. He turns toward Phaedra and her nurse who, as Robert has shown, are taken from other scenes and thus create an impossible situation from the point of view of the drama. We are dealing in fact with a contamination of scenes which most certainly must have necessitated slight changes for the sake of a new kind of compositional unity. Most probably these changes primarily affected Hippolytus who had to be related at the same time to Theseus on one side and to Phaedra on the other. A second representation, which shows essentially the same figure arrangement, is found on a fragment of a sarcophagus in the Louvre.⁷⁷ Here the seated man's head is preserved, but because of the lack of beard, Robert argues against his identification as Theseus (an identification which he himself had given to the same figure of the Arlesian sarcophagus), calling him an old friend of Hippolytus instead. It seems, however, unlikely that a subordinate figure should have taken such a prominent place, enthroned, as he is, in the foreground as a balance to Phaedra. The parallel with the Theseus on the bowl, who likewise is beardless, makes it much more likely that in the case of this sarcophagus also we are dealing with the king of Athens and Troezen. Robert's hesitation to call him Theseus was understandable because on two other sarcophagi, one in the Louvre and another in Spalato,⁷⁸ Theseus is bearded in a scene where a messenger reports the death of Hippolytus. However, these sarcophagi belong to a Roman group and it seems possible that the Greek ones had a tradition for the Theseus type different from the Roman.

THE PELIADES

The third of the scenic representations (Fig. 16) depicts a woman who holds firmly the wrist of an old man and leads him to the right to a point of destination which is not indicated in the relief. She is dressed in a girdled, half-sleeved chiton, which falls over her feet and spreads out over the ground in both directions. Her head, from which long locks of hair fall over her shoulders, is turned back and at the same time lowered, thus causing the impression that she is looking with sympathy and compassion at the man she is guiding. In her raised left hand she holds a vessel of the shape of a lustral bowl. The man is clad in a garment that covers only the hips and legs and opens at the one side so as to show the bare right shank. The bowing and rather helpless attitude which makes it clear that walking is cumbersome to him, the long beard, the emaciated torso with its sunken belly and ribs standing out, all are rendered with a keen sense of observation, assuring the beholder that we are dealing with a very old man.

In two of the tragedies of Euripides occurs a situation where a daughter is taking her old and feeble father by the hand. First, at the end of the *Phoenissae* blind Oedipus is led by Antigone to the corpses of Jocasta, Eteocles and Polynices. This scene was actually represented on the Megarian bowls as we know from a fragment in the British Museum on which the upper part of the blind Oedipus is visible in a very bent attitude.⁷⁹ However, for a figure of Oedipus the half nakedness of the old man does not fit very well, and furthermore the lustral bowl in the hand of the woman would not have any conceivable meaning in connec-

77. *Ibid.*, p. 198 with figure in the text.

78. *Ibid.*, pl. LI, Nos. 161, 163.

79. Robert, 50. *Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm*, p. 59, No. M.

tion with Antigone. The second tragedy is the *Peliades*, a play which is lost today, but, as we know from the hypothesis of the play which is transmitted to us by Moses of Chorene,⁸⁰ had as central theme the killing of Pelias by his own daughters after the sorceress Medea had made them believe that their old father would be rejuvenated by this procedure. This short account, however, is so meager and also the preserved fragments of the play are so scanty that a full reconstruction of the drama on this basis is impossible. However, the slaying of Pelias is told by numerous ancient writers. Apollodorus (I. IX. 27), Hyginus (fable 24) and Pausanias (VIII. XI. 2) report merely the simple fact of the killing, while other writers go a little more into detail. According to Diodorus of Sicily (IV. 50-51) Pelias gives his consent to his rejuvenation after he had seen Medea's miracle of an old ram turned into a lamb again, whereas according to Ovid (*Met.* VII, 297 ff.) the daughters surprise their father during the night in his bed and, when suddenly the courage leaves them to carry out their intention, Medea kills Pelias. The question of the dramatic source behind the Roman writers is complicated by the fact that Sophocles in his *Rhizotomoi* likewise placed Pelias' violent death in the center of his drama, and it is a much debated matter how the two versions of the killing correspond with the two dramas. According to Robert the narration in Ovid would agree more with the Sophoclean version and the tale of Diodorus with the Euripidean one.⁸¹

The scene on our bowl represents in our opinion the moment which immediately precedes the old king's killing. In the woman we now recognize one of the daughters who is going to perform the killing in a ritual way. The old man can be identified as Pelias, who is willingly following her guidance to a spot where the sacrifice is going to take place, in accordance with the version transmitted by Diodorus in which he gives his consent to his rejuvenation. This scene, which is to be considered as an abbreviation, is confined to the left and more important half of a formerly more extensive composition, the lost right half of which must have contained one or two more daughters, the boiling cauldron, and, perhaps, also Medea looking on. The decrepitude of Pelias, the stripping to the waist as an indication of the impending sacrifice in which he will be cut to pieces, the lustral bowl in the hand of the daughter who obviously is going to accompany the slaughter with all due ceremonies of a libation, — all these features are in agreement, not so much perhaps with the literary sources which are too meager to allow us to be sure about such details, but rather with the fairly numerous representations of this episode which we possess in painting and sculpture.⁸²

There are several monuments in which old Pelias is taken by the arm by one of his daughters and guided to the sacrifice just as we see it on our bowl. On a cylix in the Museo Gregoriano in the Vatican (Fig. 18)⁸³ one of the daughters holds Pelias with both arms as she tries to drag him away from his chair and toward the cauldron, where her sister already waits with a knife. On a short side of a Roman sarcophagus, recently discovered in the catacomb of Pretextatus (Fig. 19)⁸⁴ the one daughter likewise seizes Pelias with both her hands, but here she already stands on the other side of the cauldron, indicating an advanced moment of the impending sacrifice, while her sister takes the place in the center of the composition. More intimate is the representation in a Pompeian fresco⁸⁵ where the guiding daughter puts one arm around Pelias' shoulders in a gentle way, while she holds his arm with the other. Furthermore, on a crater from Corneto⁸⁶ the guiding daughter, inscribed Ἀλκ(άν)-δρα, is depicted in a frontal position, grasping her father with only one hand, thus closely

80. Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 550; Welcker, *op. cit.*, p. 625; Preller-Robert, *Heldensage*, II, 3, p. 867.

81. Preller-Robert, *loc. cit.*

82. K. Scherling in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. *Peliades*, cols. 311 ff.

83. E. Gerhard, *Arch. Ztg.*, IV, 1846, p. 249, pl. XL; Séchan, *op. cit.*, p. 478, fig. 136; Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 275,

fig. 12; Reisch in Helbig's *Führer*, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1912, I, p. 346, No. 581.

84. M. Gütschow, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLIX, 1934, p. 295, pl. 20.

85. W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde Campaniens*, Leipzig, 1868, pl. XIX.

86. A. Schultz, *Annali dell' Inst.*, XLVIII, 1876, p. 43, tav. d'agg. F.



FIG. 14. New York Bowl: Mad Heracles Kills His Son



FIG. 15. New York Bowl: Theseus and Hippolytus



FIG. 16. New York Bowl: Pelias and Daughter



FIG. 17. Arles, Museum: Sarcophagus, Theseus and Hippolytus



FIG. 18. Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano: Vase, Scenes from the Peliades



FIG. 19. Rome, Catacomb of Pretextatus: Sarcophagus, Pelias and Daughters



FIG. 20. New York Bowl: Bellerophon



FIG. 21. New York Bowl: Hypsipyle and Opheltes



FIG. 22. New York Bowl: Telephus (?)



FIG. 23. New York Bowl: Aegeus (?)



FIG. 24. Lahore, Central Museum: Fragment of Vase from Peshawar, Inebriated Heracles



FIG. 25. Metal Bowl from Bokhara: Bacchic Figures

resembling her counterpart in our silver relief, while in the other she holds the sword instead of the lustral bowl. All these examples, though they have in common the motif of grasping the hand of Pelias, differ so considerably among themselves that no iconographic grouping can be made. Furthermore it must be noticed that in the parallels mentioned above, in contradistinction to our silver relief, Pelias is fully clad. However, on the Vatican cylix (Fig. 18) he reappears in the central medallion with either Medea or one of his daughters standing in front of him,⁸⁷ and here he is actually shown half nude and with the flabby breast of an old man, although it must be made clear that the period to which this vase belongs⁸⁸ does not permit the same degree of realistic treatment we see on the Bactrian bowl under the influence of a Hellenistic model. Moreover, the type of the daughter of Pelias who holds a lustral bowl in her raised left arm is familiar in vase painting. On the same Vatican cylix (Fig. 18) she stands behind her sister, who leads a ram to its rejuvenation prior to Pelias' death; on a hydria in Deepdene⁸⁹ she stands between the one sister who holds the sword in preparation for the sacrifice, and the other, apparently Alcestis, who flees and does not want to take part in the slaughter; and finally on an Attic pyxis in the Louvre⁹⁰ she stands between Pelias on the one side, who is not guided but moves ahead by himself in an extremely cumbersome way, and the cauldron on the other.

With regard to the two versions of Pelias' death, one in which he is killed by surprise and the other in which he agrees to his rejuvenation, there can be no doubt that all examples in the representational arts including the Bactrian bowl go back to the second version. Now if it turns out to be true that the scenes of this bowl are all taken from Euripides' plays, then we have indeed another strong point in favor of Robert's theory that the second version of Pelias' death is the Euripidean one.

THE BELLEROPHON

Among the four single figures the one to be most easily identified is the youthful rider on a winged horse (Fig. 20) who hardly can be anyone else except Bellerophon on Pegasus. He is clad in a kind of tunic with half-length sleeves and in oriental trousers similar to those which Hippolytus wears. His hair is fluttering in the wind and with a whip in his right hand he is driving on the flying horse which is rearing on its hind legs as if to suggest that it is carrying its master speedily through the air.

Euripides wrote two dramas in which Bellerophon plays the chief role. The one which bears the hero's name *Bellerophon* has as its central theme his flight into heaven. The hero, who is depressed about the injustice which seems to rule this world, decides to fly up to the gods in order to convince himself of their existence. But on his way he is thrown off by Pegasus and falls upon the Alean plain in Lycia.⁹¹ The other drama, the *Stheneboea*, deals with the vicious love of Proetus' wife, the rejection of her proposal by the chaste Bellerophon, his calumny and subsequent departure to the court of Iobates where he is ordered to kill the Chimaera, his return to Proetus at Tiryns and finally his revenge on Stheneboea by simulating love, inducing her to flee with him on Pegasus and throwing her off while they travel across the sea. The representation on the bowl of Bellerophon's taking off into the air obviously fits better the episode of his flight into heaven as enacted in the *Bellerophon* than any scene in the *Stheneboea*. Were it the latter drama, the hero should either hold a lance for his fight against the Chimaera, or he should be shown riding with Sthene-

87. Robert, *Arch. Ztg.*, 1874, p. 136, note 8; Séchan, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

88. Curtius, *Athen. Mitt.*, 1923, p. 38, dates the vase around 430 B.C.

89. Séchan, *op. cit.*, p. 480 and fig. 138.

90. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, s.v. *Medea*, fig. 4876; Séchan, *op. cit.*, fig. 137.

91. Wecklein in *Sitzungsber. Bayr. Akad. Philos.-hist. Cl.*, 1888, pp. 103 ff.; Preller-Robert, *Heldensage*, II, 1, p. 184; Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 232; Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, pp. 393 ff.

boea on Pegasus' back or throwing her off into the sea. Moreover, the whipping of the horse's rear as depicted in our relief seems well motivated by some lines of the *Bellerophon* which we learn from a scholiast of Aristophanes' *Peace*. Bellerophon is urging Pegasus on with an animated call:

ἄγ', ὦ φίλον μοι Πηγάσου πτερόν . .

Up, Pegasus, my flying friend . .

and furthermore with the encouraging words:

ἴθι χρυσοχάλιν' αἶρων πτέρυγας

Come on, my Pegasus with the gold studded bridle, lift up your wings.⁹²

Pegasus was actually brought upon the stage and the flight of Bellerophon through the air took place before the eyes of the spectators by means of the μηχανή as we know from Pollux (iv. 128). How startling this spectacle must have been we can conclude from Trygaeus' flight on a beetle in the *Peace*, where Aristophanes is obviously making fun of the Euripidean play.

The various adventures of Bellerophon were frequently illustrated in ancient art⁹³ from early vase paintings down to Roman sarcophagi.⁹⁴ Some of the representations, like the farewell of Bellerophon to Proetus before leaving for Iobates, the meeting between the hero and Proetus' wife prior to their departure and the casting off of Stheneboea from the back of Pegasus have been connected with the *Stheneboea* of Euripides,⁹⁵ while the only scene which is possibly an illustration of the *Bellerophon* is the hero's fall from Pegasus upon the Aleian plain as represented on a Roman lamp in the British Museum⁹⁶ and a few other monuments.⁹⁷

THE HYPsipYLE

Between the Bellerophon and the scene from the *Peliades*, but unrelated to either of them, sits a woman with a child (Fig. 21) who constitute a scene by themselves. She sits on a high bench, draped in a long chiton which, like that of Pelias' daughter, spreads out its wavy folds over the ground and has long sleeves. Over the chiton she wears a himation which is drawn as a veil over her head. She is rocking a nude child, holding its feet with her right hand and its body with her left. The child, which seems to feel insecure in this swaying position, grasps with one hand at the woman's veil, while the other hand is flung outward. The woman's head is lowered to one side as if in sorrow or grief and her eyes are directed toward the beholder and not toward the child.

If we should meet this group isolated, we should, perhaps, be inclined to interpret it as a mere genre scene, but in its present context we have again to search in Euripides for an interpretation and indeed there is a drama which seems to provide an explanation — the *Hypsipyle*. Only a few and comparatively insignificant fragments had been known of this drama⁹⁸ prior to Grenfell's and Hunt's lucky finding of great parts of it among the Oxyrhynchus papyri,⁹⁹ by which particularly the beginning of the drama could be fully restored.¹⁰⁰ At the beginning of the play *Hypsipyle*, the daughter of Thoas, king of Lemnos,

92. Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 451, fragments 306 and 307; cf. also 309.

93. R. Engelmann, *Annali dell' Inst.*, XLVI, 1874, pp. 5 ff. (Bellerofonte e Pegaso).

94. Robert, *Sarkoph.*, III, 1, pls. VIII-IX.

95. Séchan, *op. cit.*, pp. 494 ff., figs. 145-148.

96. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Lamps*, London, 1914, p. 100, No. 657, pl. XXII.

97. R. Engelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 36, Nos. 78-80.

98. Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 594, Nos. 752-770.

99. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VI, 1908, pp. 19 ff.; A. S. Hunt, *Fragmenta Tragica Papyracea*, Oxford, 1912.

100. Séchan, *op. cit.*, pp. 341 ff. (here fuller bibliography); Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 250; Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, pp. 563 ff.

appears on the stage and tells of her fate which made her a servant to Lycurgus, king of Nemea, and a nurse of his little son Opheltes, who, according to most sources, is called Archemorus after his death. During this monologue she appears, as most philologists assume today, as yet without the child. Then two youths appear, Euneus and Thoas, the sons of Hypsipyle, who are, however, not recognized by her, and after a dialogue with Thoas, Hypsipyle pays full attention to the little child she has to take care of. It seems to have cried for some reason and Hypsipyle according to the Oxyrhynchus papyri tries to calm it by singing a βαυκάλημα:¹⁰¹

οὐ τάδε πῆνας, οὐ τάδε κερκίδος
 ἰστοτόνου παραμύθια Λήμνια,
 Μοῦσα, μέλει με κρέκειν, ὅ τι δ' εἰς ὕπνον
 ἢ χάριν ἢ θεραπεύματα πρόσφορα
 παιδὶ πρέπει νεαρῶ,
 τάδε μελωδὸς αὐδῶ.

No chant of Lemnos, no song to comfort me
 beside my weaving, beside the shuttle pressed
 upon the web, O Muse, is mine to sing: only
 what is apt to charm a little child to sleep
 or joy or comfort — this is the burden of
 my song.^{101a}

These very verses seem to be the basis for our representation in which Hypsipyle, as we now can name the nursing woman, tries to calm the restless babe Opheltes by rocking it. Apparently we are not dealing with an abbreviated scene, but with the rendering of the very moment when she is with the child on the stage alone, prior to the alternating song with the chorus of the women of Nemea, and prior to the fateful meeting with Amphiaraus which leads to the unfortunate killing of the babe by a snake at the moment she lays it on the ground in order to show the stranger a nearby spring. The veiling of her head is in agreement with her characterization as a nurse. Thus Phaedra's nurse in the Hippolytus sarcophagi wears sometimes a kerchief¹⁰² and sometimes simply her mantle over her head,¹⁰³ as Hypsipyle does here. Also the grief which seems to be indicated by the lowering of her head and the fact that she does not look at the child, fit quite well the general mood she displays at this very moment in the play. We miss only the clapper in her hand of which Euripides speaks.

If our identification is correct, this would be the first representation known from the beginning of the drama. In all monuments which up to this time have been related to the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides, later scenes are depicted. On a vase in the Louvre¹⁰⁴ we see the mourning Eurydice, the mother of Opheltes, holding the corpse of the babe in her lap; a vase in Naples¹⁰⁵ depicts the moment when Hypsipyle has to defend herself before Eurydice; while the most frequently illustrated scene is the killing of the babe by the snake, a scene which is represented on vases¹⁰⁶ as well as on Etruscan urns,¹⁰⁷ a sarcophagus from Corinth,¹⁰⁸ and many other classical monuments.

101. Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 566.

101a. Translation by D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri*, I (Poetry), p. 85 (edit. Loeb Class. Libr.).

102. Robert, *Sarkoph.*, III, 2, pl. XLVIII, 154, pl. I, 160 and others.

103. *Ibid.*, pl. XLVI, 151 and others.

104. Vogel, *Scenen Euripidäischer Tragödien*, p. 98; Séchan, *op. cit.*, p. 359, fig. 102.

105. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 99; Séchan, *op. cit.*, p. 361, fig. 103.

106. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 107, No. C; Séchan, *op. cit.*, p. 365, fig. 105.

107. G. Körte, *I relievi delle urne etrusche*, Berlin, 1890, II, pl. II, No. 3, pl. VII, No. 2.

108. J. D. Young, *A.J.A.*, XXVI, 1922, pp. 430 ff., pls. VIII-IX.

THE TELEPHUS(?)

A bearded man, clad merely in a loin cloth, carries a heavy wicker basket on his left shoulder (Fig. 24). Of the three different objects in the basket the one next to the man's head looks like a cluster of grapes, and we hardly go astray in also assuming the other objects to be fruits of some kind. With his left hand he holds the crook of a staff and he leans heavily upon it partly because of the weight of the basket and partly because walking seems to be difficult for him. His right foot is lifted not in an ordinary fashion of walking, but in a way which suggests that putting down the foot would cause him pain. He obviously does not belong to the scene in front of him with Pelias and his daughter, nor is he related to the man with the bowl and pitcher behind him who turns in the opposite direction. We must therefore assume that he constitutes a scene by himself.

In accordance with the general context of the bowl we have to look in Euripides for a scene in which a beggar, to judge from the general appearance and the scanty clothing of the man, is the title hero. The kings as beggars are familiar figures in several plays of Euripides, and Aristophanes in the *Acharnians* (verses 418 ff.) probably gives a complete list of them to the year 425. The most famous and the one whom Aristophanes describes with more detail than any other, is Telephus. We are told in the *Acharnians* that Euripides' Telephus is limping (χωλός; v. 428), clad in rags (ράκώματα; v. 432), wearing the Mysian cap (πιδίδιον Μύσιον; v. 439), walking with a beggar's staff (πτωχικόν βακτήριον; v. 448), and carrying a wicker basket (σπυρίδιον πλέκου; vv. 453-454), a little tankard with a broken rim (κοτυλίσκιον τὸ χεῖλος ἀποκεκρουσμένον; v. 459) and a little pitcher (χυτρίδιον; v. 463); and we learn that the basket was apparently filled with withered leaves (ισχνὰ φυλλεῖα; v. 469) and with chervil (σκάνδικα; v. 478). Furthermore in the *Clouds* Aristophanes gives a wallet (πηρίδιον; v. 923) to the beggar Telephus. The limping attitude and the wicker basket and beggar's staff which the man carries in the silver relief fit very well the description in the *Acharnians*, though he naturally does not carry all the objects which Aristophanes enumerates. But can we be sure that in Euripides' play Telephus really carried so many objects at once on the stage, and is it not more likely that Aristophanes somewhat exaggerated his persiflage in order to make Telephus appear as wretched as possible? And furthermore, can we be sure that the Bactrian craftsman copied every one of the attributes which the Greek model may have had, the content of which he perhaps no longer understood?

Imponderables of this kind have, of course, to be taken into consideration, but we have a much better chance of identifying our figure on the bowl with Telephus than with any of the other beggars mentioned in the *Acharnians*. Besides Cadmus' daughter Ino, we can exclude Bellerophon. This hero would have to be represented youthful and beardless, to judge from ancient monuments including the scene on our very bowl in which he rides the winged horse, although other features like his limping after the fall from Pegasus and his wearing wretched garments would be in agreement with the figure of the beggar. Phoenix, who plays the role of a chaste youth as antagonist of his father's concubine Phthia, likewise does not come into question because of his youthfulness, and furthermore the attitude of the figure on the bowl does not seem to be that of a blinded man which Phoenix apparently appeared to be on the stage. Philoctetes on the other hand was certainly bearded, to judge from ancient monuments, and he was also limping, having been bitten by a poisonous serpent, but he would carry the bow of Heracles as attribute, not a staff. Finally, although Oeneus, an old man in wretchedness, and Thyestes are enumerated in the *Acharnians* among the beggar kings, we know so little about them that the question whether the figure on the bowl might have anything to do with either cannot be answered in the present state of our knowledge of the lost plays of Euripides named after them. It is for this reason particularly that we must leave our identification as Telephus with a question mark.

From the fragments of the lost *Telephus* of Euripides we learn little more about the hero's appearance than what we know already from the *Acharnians* and they reiterate only his beggarly bearing.¹⁰⁹ The place of action is apparently Argos and Telephus goes there in the disguise of a beggar in order to secure the healing of the wound in his leg inflicted by Achilles' lance which, according to an oracle, could be healed only by the same lance. In the beggarly disguise described above, he seems to have spoken the initial monologue¹¹⁰ and it is his first appearance on the stage which is represented most probably in the figure on the bowl.

There is no support for our identification from the side of the representational arts. Though we possess quite a number of vase paintings¹¹¹ as well as Etruscan urns¹¹² with representations from the *Telephus*, most of them depict in various phases the episode in which Telephus flees to the altar with the little Orestes whom he has caught and threatens to kill unless the Achaeans agree to heal his wound. One urn represents the actual healing.¹¹³

THE AEGEUS(?)

The last of the single figures is a bearded old man who is clad in a kind of himation (Fig. 23). His body is frontal, while his head is turned to the right as if looking at a person who is not represented on the bowl, but who may have existed on an earlier model. To this imaginary person he seems to be offering a drink from a pitcher which he lifts with his right hand, while in the left he holds a cylix. Notable is the manner in which the cylix is rendered; whatever drink it contained must have been spilled. One cannot argue that lack of knowledge of perspective perhaps prevented the artist from drawing the cylix in foreshortened view, because the bowl in the hand of Pelias' daughter and the wicker basket on Telephus' shoulder demonstrate very clearly the copyist's capabilities in this regard.

The spilling of a drink seems to be a motif of distinct iconographic significance and this should help to identify the figure. We know that the spilling of a poisoned drink was the high moment of the lost *Aegeus* of Euripides. The old and weak ruler of Athens is induced by Medea during a banquet unwittingly to poison his son Theseus who has returned to Athens unrecognized. At the moment when Theseus is about to drink, Aegeus recognizes his son by his sword, snatches the cylix, throws it away and spills the poisoned drink. The few fragments known of Euripides' play¹¹⁴ are not sufficient for the reconstruction of the plot, but there are several sources which are supposed to narrate the story after Euripides and provide some valuable information about this decisive moment of the drama. A scholiast to *Iliad* xi, 741 says simply that Aegeus prevented Theseus from being poisoned (τὸ μὲν φάρμακον ἀφείλετο).¹¹⁵ Plutarch (*Theseus*, xii) is more precise. According to him Aegeus dashed down the poisoned cylix (τὴν μὲν κύλικα τοῦ φαρμάκου κατέβαλε), so that the poison was spilled where the enclosure now is in the Delphinium (λέγεται δὲ τῆς κύλικος πεσούσης ἐκχυθῆναι τὸ φάρμακον ὅπου νῦν ἐν Δελφινίῳ τὸ περίφρακτόν ἐστιν). Similar is the narration in the *Bibliothèque* of Apollodorus (*Epit.* i, 5) which adds the feature that Theseus had the cylix already in his hands when Aegeus interfered (τὴν κύλικα ἐξέρριψε τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ). On the ground of this evidence we are inclined to identify the figure on the silver bowl as Aegeus who holds in his right hand the pitcher which contained the drink of welcome offered to his son and in his left the cylix which he is going to drop after having spilled its contents.

One would, of course, expect to see Theseus represented as the antagonist toward whom

109. Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 579, Nos. 696-727; especially No. 697.

110. Séchan, *op. cit.*, p. 512.

111. Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 ff.; Séchan, *op. cit.*, pp. 509 ff., figs. 149-151 (older bibliography cited).

112. H. Brunn, *I relievi delle urne etrusche*, i, 1870, pp. 29 ff., pls. xxvi-xxxiv and lxxiii, No. 3.

113. *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv, No. 18.

114. Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 363, Nos. 1-13.

115. *Ibid.*, p. 363.

Aegeus turns his head. But can we consider it a mere accident that in front of Aegeus Theseus actually sits — the Theseus who belongs to the scene in which he repudiates Hippolytus (Fig. 15)? And is it also an accident that this seated Theseus, though he turns his back toward Aegeus, displays his sword so conspicuously that it could not escape Aegeus' attention, the very sword by which Aegeus recognized his son? Perhaps this relation is fortuitous, but it may just as well be that in the Greek model of the Bactrian bowl the artist had combined two scenes in both of which Theseus was one of the main actors and that he dropped one figure of Theseus because of lack of space, relating the remaining one to both scenes at the same time. Contaminations of this kind are quite frequent in Hellenistic and Roman art.

The only group of monuments in which the scene of the attempted poisoning of Theseus by Aegeus is represented are the Campana reliefs. Here we see a composition preserved in several copies¹¹⁶ in which Aegeus grasps with one hand the right arm of Theseus who sits in front of him and with the other snatches away a bowl (instead of a cylix) out of which Theseus is just about to drink, while Medea stands calmly behind the aged ruler of Athens. However, though also this representation on the terra cotta reliefs is very probably inspired by Euripides, it does not seem to belong to the same tradition as the figure of the Bactrian bowl.

THE BEAR HUNT

The last scene, occupying more space than any other of the frieze, represents the hunting of a bear (Fig. 13). A bearded hunter wearing a skin as loin cloth pierces with a spear the shoulder of a rearing bear who in defense bites into the shaft. As second weapon the attacker possesses a sword the strap of which is hung over his right arm. This is not the proper way to carry a sword and it can be assumed that a Hellenistic model has been misunderstood in which the sword was hung on a *balteus* crossing the breast. Apparently the result of another misunderstanding is the wide band which is fastened around the middle of the spear and which flutters in a wave up and down: in the Greek model there was most probably a chlamys fluttering from behind the shoulder of the hunter. The scene takes place in a grove as indicated by a tree with heart-shaped leaves, the branches of which spread out along the rim of the vessel.

Both the indication of landscape and the subject matter of the hunt make this composition appear as an intrusion among the illustrations of the tragedies of Euripides. It is not even likely that we are dealing with a mythological theme at all, though one might think for a moment of Arcas, who unwittingly pursued his mother Callisto into the sanctuary of Zeus Lycaeus after Zeus (or, according to others, Hera or indignant Artemis) had turned her into a she-bear. Euripides in his *Helen* (verses 375 ff.) speaks about the metamorphosis of Callisto into a bear, but this passage is not detailed enough to consider as a possible basis for the relief composition. There are other oriental cups decorated exclusively with the hunting not only of bears but also of lions and other wild animals¹¹⁷ and it is much more reasonable to assume that our bear hunt was taken over from a hunting bowl.

What could have been the reason for inserting a hunting scene among illustrations of the tragedies of Euripides? We mentioned above that the shape of the New York vessel is that of a shallow bowl, while the Kustanai and the Stroganoff bowls have a more spherical shape, thus imitating more closely the semiglobal Megarian bowls upon which they depend.

116. H. Heydemann, *Anal. Thesea, Diss. Berol.*, 1865, p. 13; H. v. Rohden and H. Winnefeld, *Architekt. Römische Terrakotten der Kaiserzeit*, 1911, pp. 100 ff., pls. LII and CIX; J. Sieveking, *Arch. Anz.*, 1912, p. 127, No. 20.

117. Cf. the bowl with bear and lion-hunt from the district of Terek (Smirnov, *op. cit.*, No. 70, pls. XLII,

XLIII, CXXV; И. А. Орбели и К. В. Тревер, *Сасанидский Металл* [I. A. Orbeli and K. V. Trever, *Sasanian Metalwork*], Leningrad, 1935, pl. 35); the bowl from Vereino with the lion-hunt (Smirnov, *op. cit.*, No. 68, pl. XXXIX; Trever, *op. cit.*, No. 17, pls. 22-24); the bowl from Nizhnii Shacharovka (Smirnov, *op. cit.*, No. 36, pl. XIV; Trever, *op. cit.*, No. 20, pl. 28).

Evidently the model of the New York vessel also was ultimately a hemispherical bowl, and when the artist changed its shape to make the flatter New York bowl, the surface area became considerably enlarged. Whereas the diameter of the Kustanai cup measures 15.5 cm. and that of the Stroganoff cup 14.5 cm., the diameter of the New York vessel is 20.5 cm. Thus it seems a plausible explanation that a smaller bowl which possessed scenes from Euripides exclusively served as model, and that only because of the change of shape and the enlarging of the frieze area was the hunting scene added.

V

Most scholars who have studied the art of the easternmost provinces in which Hellenistic style survived many centuries after Alexander's conquest seem to agree that those products which show a comparatively pure Greek style are the earlier, and those in which the oriental peoples have imposed their own stylistic expressiveness and sometimes a new meaning upon the Greek models are the later ones. From this point of view we should be in a position to work out at least a relative chronology of the three silver bowls. If our interpretation of most of the subjects as scenes from tragedies of Euripides is correct, a fairly accurate separation of the genuine Greek from the intruding oriental elements should be possible. The proportion of the two elements can be used as a determining factor in establishing the chronology.

In the seven scenes from Euripides and the additional hunting scene on the bowl in New York a Greek model is copied in all likelihood with no iconographic and only comparatively few stylistic alterations, although the intrusion of the hunting scene points to the fact that the copyist did not any longer understand his subject matter. If we keep in mind that even a learned Greek in his mother country needed the assistance of inscriptions, and often fairly extensive ones, to determine the subject matter of the Megarian bowls, then we should not be surprised that in a provincial product in which explanatory inscriptions were abandoned, the very specific situations of so many different dramas were no longer understood by either the artist or the beholder. Obviously the Hellenistic model was extremely individualized in each group and figure, and the copyist followed his model quite slavishly. Only because of this evidence have we been able to give detailed interpretations of very characteristic actions, gestures and attributes. From this point of view the New York bowl is closer to the Greek model than the other two bowls and is thus in all probability the earliest of them.

The first changes in the process of copying even where the actions and the outlines of the figures are unchanged, occur usually in the treatment of the drapery. The shape of the woman's chiton on the New York bowl is no longer understood, and the manner in which it spreads in waves over the ground points to the intrusion of an oriental element. Another oriental feature on the bowl is the Persian trousers of Hippolytus (Fig. 15) and Bellerophon (Fig. 20) and even if one also takes into account, in the Bear Hunting Scene, the ornamentalized flying bands around the hunter's spear and the wrong attachment of his sword, on the whole the alterations seem to have been few. The actual addition of new elements by the copyist is more or less confined to the two lotus flowers between Pelops and his daughter (Fig. 16). These are Indian in form rather than Greek and their existence would hardly be suspected in the original illustration of a Greek dramatic scene. Their insertion results most probably from the *horror vacui* which is found in all Indian art.

In the Kustanai cup the encroachment of oriental features upon a Hellenistic model has made progress. It is true that this cup is closer to the Hellenistic model than the New York bowl in so far as its program is iconographically more coherent since, in our opinion, its scenes without exception are illustrations of Euripides. However, the goddess with the cornucopia seated in oriental fashion (Fig. 5) at the place where we would expect king Cercyon

as judge, shows the beginning of a process by which Greek figures were not transformed but replaced by oriental types. This type is most probably derived from a representation of the Iranian Rtis or Ardokhsho, the goddess of the Kushans, or some similar oriental goddess, and it has its own oriental tradition. Ultimately, however, it is very probably inspired by a Greek type like Gaea or one of the many other goddesses and personifications carrying a cornucopia,¹¹⁸ but its history lies outside the specific Euripides problem. Orientalized also are the trees framing the Alope scene. The closest parallel to this type of tree, the winding branches of which end in thick clusters, is to be found on other Bactrian silver vessels, notably on the Dionysian dish from Badakshan in the British Museum where it overshadows Dionysus on a cart and the dancing Heracles. With regard to its subject matter Dalton¹¹⁹ who dates the dish around 200 A.D. is inclined to consider the tree a conventionally treated vine. Iconographically no tree is required for any of the dramatic scenes of the Kustanai cup. Most probably their function is to indicate the separation of the scenes from each other, but inserted motifs of this sort do, of course, occur also in Hellenistic art, and thus the question whether the trees replace Greek ones or were inserted by an oriental copyist is difficult to decide. Particularly strong is the oriental intrusion in the women's dresses. They are not merely misunderstood as on the New York bowl, but they are transformed under the influence of oriental costumes. The piece of drapery which crosses Creusa's knees (Fig. 7), the bands which surround her breasts and those of the woman behind her are stylized in the Indian manner and the pearl girdle of the latter is found in Indian sculpture. Thus it becomes quite obvious that Hellenistic and Indian features of costume have been mixed.

In the Stroganoff cup Hellenistic and oriental features have iconographically and stylistically about an equal share. In the two scenes which we interpreted as the dispute of the drunken Heracles with Silenus (Fig. 9) and the killing of Syleus by Heracles (Fig. 10), with the addition of the Satyr with the wine skin (Fig. 12), the understanding of the human body has greatly diminished, whereas in the two previous pieces, as the heritage of the Hellenistic tradition, it was still well preserved. The proportions of the Heracles and Syleus are extremely heavy, their motions clumsy, their draperies incoherent and thoroughly ornamentalized, the hero's club with knots at both ends misunderstood, and altogether we are dealing with a very degenerate Hellenistic style.

A completely different source must be assumed for the banquet of the distinguished couple, a scene which includes the servant carrying two pitchers and offering a bowl (Figs. 11-12). The dress of the enthroned man and woman with widely opened embroidered lapels, is characteristic of the Soghdians,¹²⁰ whereas the griffon with the peacock's tail and eagle's beak holding the crowning wreath is connected with the various "hippocamps" that appear on coins, silks and plaster works of the late Sasanian period. For the monkeys LeCoq¹²¹ and later Trever¹²² have pointed to terra cotta figures from Khotan. Thus the layers of different cultures overlap each other in the Northwest corner of India in the complex style of the bowl. In a condensed form the mixture of heterogeneous elements can also be seen in the monster head in the center of the bowl with the open mouth showing the teeth, tusks and tongue of the Gorgo, and the thick nose, fat cheeks and cunning eyes of the god Bes. There can hardly be any doubt that the Stroganoff cup is the farthest removed from the Hellenistic model.

118. On the coins of the Kushans Ardokhsho enthroned with a cornucopia in her left arm (cf. A. Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, xii, 3rd series, 1892, pl. xvii, No. 7) is quite similar though the position of her legs is not yet so strongly orientalized.

119. O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, 2nd ed., London, 1926, p. 49, No. 196, pl. xxvii.

120. E. Herzfeld (*Malereien von Samarra*, p. 46, fig. 23, No. 4), in connection with our bowl considers it to be Soghdian. The present writer takes great pleasure in thanking Prof. Herzfeld for many valuable suggestions concerning the oriental side of our study.

121. A. von LeCoq, *Bilderatlas*, p. 49, fig. 37.

122. *Op. cit.*, pl. 21.

It must be left to a further investigation by orientalists to make this relative chronology more precise. Seen from the Greek point of view nothing more can be said than that the third century B.C., in which the earliest and best of the Megarian bowls with literary subjects were made, is the earliest possible date also for the oriental copies. But that the beginning of Hellenism must be considered as a *terminus post quem* is so self evident also for historical reasons, that it hardly needs to be mentioned at all.

For the New York bowl no date has so far been proposed. The most characteristic feature of costume as we mentioned above, is the falling of the women's garment over their feet, and its spreading in waves over the ground. On coins of the kings of the Sacas of Northwest India one can clearly see how this motif developed out of the fluttering ends of the chiton of the Nike type. On the early coins of the Kushans belonging to the first century A.D.¹²³ the garment only slightly touches the ground, while on later coins from the beginning of the second century A.D. the motif is fully developed and ornamentalized.¹²⁴ It occurs also in very similar form on representations of the goddesses Ardokhsho and Nanaia of the first and second centuries A.D.¹²⁵ In Sasanian art we see the waving folds over the ground in the garment of the goddess Anahit on coins of Hormuzd I (272-273) and Bahram II (276-293)¹²⁶ as well as on a rock relief of Naqsh-e Rostam in which the investiture of Narse (293-302) by Anahit is represented.¹²⁷ In the latter example the waves of the garment are ornamentalized to an extreme degree by multiplying the folds and exaggerating their movements far beyond the stage in which they appear on our silver bowl. These stylistic comparisons would point to the end of the pre-Christian or the very beginning of the Christian era as the time of origin of the New York bowl. One must admit, however, that a single fold motif, as long as it is not corroborated by other evidence, is no sufficient basis for assuming even such an approximate date, since we cannot be sure that it did not exist in other media before it turned up in coins.

The garments of the women, notably of Alcestis (Fig. 1) in the Kustanai cup show similar stylistic features, so that the date of this piece does not seem very far removed from that of the New York bowl. Perhaps the Kustanai cup is a little later, since its style, as already mentioned, is more strongly mixed with oriental elements. Trever's date in the third century B.C. is apparently too early. We must assume the lapse of a considerable space of time between the Megarian bowl which is the ultimate model, and this derivative. Rostovtzeff too, in his review of Trever's book objects to the early date and proposes a late Hellenistic or early Roman origin, which corresponds to the date we consider most likely for the New York bowl.

The Stroganoff bowl is even more difficult to date. It is not so much the roughness of style which is no argument for dating, but the high degree of mixture of classical and oriental forms which speaks in favor of a date considerably later than that of the two preceding pieces. Again Trever's date in the first century B.C. seems to be too early, but how many centuries we have to come down into our era to find a proper date for this cup which, because of its details of costume, Trever connects with the Kushans, Rostovtzeff with the Sacians, and Herzfeld with the Soghdians, we are unable to answer.

123. Cf. the coin of King Maues with Nike on the reverse (Percy Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, 1886, pl. xvi, No. 2); coin of King Azes with Pallas on the reverse (*ibid.*, pl. xviii, No. 8).

124. Cf. the coin of King Hooerkes with Artemis on the reverse (*ibid.*, pl. xxviii, No. 7).

125. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pl. xxii, Nos. 2, 5, 15-17, etc.

126. Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, No. 9 and pl. 2, No. 1; *Survey of Persian Art*, London, 1938-39, IV, pl. 254, Nos. B and D.

127. F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin, 1910, pl. ix; *Survey of Persian Art*, IV, pl. 157-B. In these two reproductions the relief is still covered in its lower part. Prof. Herzfeld kindly showed me a photograph made after his excavations which uncovered the whole relief.

VI

The attempt to explain the iconography of the three silver vessels as illustrations of dramas of Euripides is based on the assumption that genuine Megarian bowls, or perhaps even Hellenistic silver bowls of which the former are considered to be cheap replicas, were exported to the Greeks living in Bactria as a result of the trade connections between this outpost of Greek culture and the mother country. For this assumption John Marshall's excavations in the Punjab near Peshawar in which he actually found fragments of Megarian bowls furnishes a proof.¹²⁸ He describes the following items: "Three fragments of vases found near Peshawar. In fabric and decoration they resemble most closely if they are not actually identical with the well-known Megarian ware produced in the Aegean area during the third and second centuries B.C. On one of them is a chubby Eros, moulded in very low relief. On another is a little boy reaching up for a bunch of grapes held by his mother." The most important of the fragments (Fig. 24)¹²⁹ represents, according to Marshall, a scene from Sophocles' *Antigone*:¹³⁰ "In the middle is a powerfully built and bearded man; to his right a young girl whom he is clutching by her garment while she strives to release herself from his grasp; to his left a youth round whose shoulders the man's left arm is thrown and who is supplicating him with hands uplifted to his breast. I am not aware if this relief has any close parallels in European museums, but we cannot, I think, be wrong in recognizing in it the familiar scene from the *Antigone*, where Haemon is supplicating his father Creon for the life of his affianced bride Antigone. Dramatic incidents of the kind from Greek plays were frequently depicted on Megarian vases. Perhaps it was not an uncommon thing for the plays themselves to be reproduced among the Greeks of Northern India."

Nevertheless we have reasons to doubt Marshall's identification. The fact that we do not possess a single scene from a drama of Sophocles among the Megarian bowls is of course no conclusive counter-argument. It is true that Euripides is the only tragedian whose plays were illustrated on the preserved bowls, but the possibility that tragedies of Sophocles might also have been represented on cups now lost, cannot entirely be excluded. It is in comparing the terra cotta relief with the very passage of Sophocles' drama in which Haemon and Antigone face Creon that we become aware how little the three figures and their actions fit the text. If the central figure were Creon, we should expect him to appear with a scepter as symbol of his royal power and, if a hero, at least with a mantle, as do Admetus, Cadmus and Pentheus on the Kustanai bowl (Figs. 1 and 6) or Agamemnon on a Megarian bowl when he receives Iphigenia and Orestes.¹³¹ On a Lucanian vase painting, the only illustration of Sophocles' play known so far,¹³² Creon appears even in a full royal robe when he faces Antigone whom two guardians have brought before his throne. That Creon on our terra cotta relief should throw his arm around his son while the latter is supplicating him is another odd feature. In the play Haemon, though devoted to his father, is very reserved and even hostile and to crouch in this mood under his father's armpit has no parallel in the classic vocabulary of supplicating gestures. Moreover, one would expect him also to be dressed in some kind of drapery. If the photograph can be trusted, his uplifted head seems to be bearded while Creon's son in the play is apparently quite youthful. Finally, the so-called Creon does not clutch the woman herself, but only her garment. The upper part of her body is nude and it looks as if the man in the center were trying forcibly to strip her.

128. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, p. 1060, pl. III a; cf. also the *Cambridge History of India*, I, 1922, p. 646.

129. For the photograph here reproduced the writer wishes to express his thanks to the director of the Central Museum in Lahore.

130. This interpretation has found its way into the

bibliography. Cf. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1938, p. 382; W. N. Bates, *Sophocles*, Philadelphia, 1940, p. 74, note 1.

131. Robert, 50. *Winckelmannsprogramm*, p. 51, No. L.

132. Séchan, *op. cit.*, p. 141, fig. 43; W. N. Bates, *Sophocles*, p. 78, fig. 2.

The semi-nudity does not suit the character of Antigone and besides this, there is no evidence or even likelihood that Creon touched Antigone in the play. Though we must thus abandon Marshall's idea of an illustration of Sophocles' *Antigone*, the fact remains nevertheless that the Peshawar fragment belongs to the same class of monuments as the models of our three Euripides vessels. It is, therefore, a historical document of the greatest importance showing the path of Greek influence in Northwest India.

The "powerfully built and bearded man" reminds us first of all of Heracles. The figure under his armpit is not supplicating, but trying to support the heavy body of the hero, and thus we assume that Heracles is inebriated and molesting a woman. One should at least raise the question whether the scene could not after all be an illustration of a drama, perhaps of the *Auge* of Euripides. The episode of Heracles' offense in the temple of Athena where Auge was a priestess was apparently told in this tragedy. Furthermore, we know from Pompeian frescoes where it occurs in quite a number of replicas¹³³ that the episode was very popular in classical art. However, the presence of a supporting man in the vase fragment who has no parallel in the Pompeian frescoes depicting the stripping of Auge would be hard to explain in connection with Euripides' tragedy. It seems to us preferable to explain the terra cotta relief simply as a part of the Bacchic thiasos, in which case the man supporting Heracles would be a Satyr and the woman a Maenad. Among reliefs on sarcophagi, the group of the drunken Heracles supported by a Satyr or by Pan is quite familiar¹³⁴ and so is the motif of Heracles molesting a Maenad.¹³⁵ Also in Hellenistic relief pottery the Bacchic thiasos was an extremely popular theme,¹³⁶ but most of the fragments known today belong to the inferior group of stamped ceramics. As far as the composition of the Peshawar fragment is concerned, and the subtle depiction of the details, we do not know of any exact parallel.

If our explanation of the scene as part of the Bacchic thiasos is right, the Peshawar fragment would even belong to an iconographic sphere which had a far greater general influence upon Greco-Bactrian art than illustrations of dramas which could have attracted only a comparatively limited group of customers. Everywhere in the northwestern Hellenized provinces of India the reflection of Bacchic iconography and types can be found. Among the direct copies of Hellenistic bowls a metal bowl from Bokhara may be mentioned (Fig. 25) which formerly was in the Antiquarium in Berlin, and which is a product of Bactria itself or of one of its neighboring countries into which Greek influence penetrated.¹³⁷ On the bowl's outer surface we recognize two Maenads, a Satyr, a man who originally may have represented either Pan or Dionysus himself, and a group depicting Ganymede with the eagle. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the most Hellenistic piece found so far in the excavations of Taxila is a medallion in silver repoussé which represents the bust of Dionysus crowned with a vine wreath and holding a cantharus.¹³⁸ Finally it suffices to mention that in the sculpture of Gandhara the influence of Bacchic types is particularly strong.¹³⁹

Having interpreted the Peshawar fragment as part of a Bacchic thiasos we lose, of course, the chief document upon which Marshall and Tarn based their suggestion that Sophocles was known among the Greeks in India. Still there remains Plutarch's testimony that "when Alexander was civilizing Asia, Homer was commonly read, and the children of

133. C. Robert, "Erocle ed Auge sopra pitture pompeiane," *Ann. dell' Inst.*, LVI, 1884, pp. 75 ff., pls. H and I.

134. Cf. the sarcophagi in Athens (Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, II, p. 147, pl. L, No. 138b) and Ince Blundell Hall (B. Ashmole, *Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall*, Oxford, 1929, p. 102 and pl. 47, No. 275).

135. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford, 1912, p. 163, No. 81 a, pl. 40.

136. Courby, *Les vases grecs à relief*, p. 341, fig. 69; p. 381, fig. 78; p. 463, figs. 100-101 and elsewhere.

137. Smirnov, *op. cit.*, pl. CXII, No. 283; Rostovtzeff, *Semin. Kondakov*, VI, p. 174 and pl. XIII, Nos. 3-4.

138. John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, 2nd ed., 1921, p. 29 and pl. 1.

139. A. Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, Paris, 1905-22, I, pp. 245 ff., figs. 127-133.

the Persians, of the Susianians, and of the Gedrosians became acquainted with the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides" (*Mor.* 328 D). This statement makes us believe that if the Persians and Gedrosians could read these Greek dramas, the Hellenes of Bactria could do so all the more and consequently were also in a position to appreciate fully the subject matter of illustrations from Euripides on works of art as long as these were pure Greek. That the dramas were actually performed in the Eastern outposts of Greek culture we know for sure only of Euripides. Plutarch in the *Life of Crassus* (xxxiii) tells us the cruel story how during a festival at the court of the Parthian king Orodes II the *Bacchae* of Euripides was performed and how an actor by the name of Jason, assuming the role of the frenzied Agave, appeared on the stage holding in his hands the actual head of Crassus who had been defeated at Carrhae and decapitated. It may not be a mere accident that we have a record of a performance of a drama of Euripides and none of the performance of plays of Sophocles or Aeschylus. There is good reason to believe that in the Hellenistic period which created the New Comedy under strong Euripidean influence, the general interest in Euripides was far greater than in Sophocles and Aeschylus. From this point of view the predominance of illustrations to Euripides on Megarian bowls as well as on their Bactrian derivatives can be regarded as a natural reflection of this general interest.

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

THE EARLY WORKS OF BARTOLOMÉ ORDÓÑEZ AND DIEGO DE SILOE

BY HAROLD E. WETHEY

II. BURGOS

IN the year 1519 a turning point came in the careers of the two young sculptors, Bartolomé Ordóñez and Diego de Siloe, and they went their separate ways, the former setting out for Carrara in Italy and the latter returning to Burgos. Diego de Siloe's first commission in the city of his birth was the tomb of the Bishop, Luis de Acuña (1495), which stands in the cathedral in the chapel of St. Anne which the Bishop had founded during his own lifetime. The contract, dated July 2, 1519, is specific about measurements of the tomb, the sculptural decoration, and the material which is alabaster from the quarries of Atapuerca, near Burgos.⁴⁸ On a comparison of the tomb (Figs. 15-17, 22) with the contract it is discovered that the artist followed the agreement to the letter in including four escutcheons of the Bishop, one on each side of the sarcophagus, and figures of the seven Virtues. These figures in low relief are in the concave section of the base, two on each side, flanking the coats-of-arms. The eighth figure, which a symmetrical design imposed, probably represents Grammar in the guise of a woman holding a tablet. Although the attribute is somewhat obscure, the identification of the figure as Grammar has some historical substantiation in that Fray Andrés Cerezo, Abbot of the monastery of Oña, dedicated a book called *Arte Gramática* to Luis de Acuña, thus suggesting that the Bishop had some interest in the subject.⁴⁹ The addition of an extra figure such as Grammar, in this case needed to make an even number of reliefs, is not without precedent. It will be recalled that Antonio Pollaiuolo included a personification of Perspective among the Liberal Arts on the tomb of Sixtus IV, in this instance further to glorify the art of perspective which had become almost a passion with Renaissance artists. Diego's intimate knowledge and admiration of the Pollaiuolo tomb is unquestionable, since he borrowed from it the arrangement of the concave sides containing reliefs of the Virtues. Antonio Pollaiuolo had originated that design in his bronze masterpiece in the last decade of the fifteenth century. These reminiscences of Pollaiuolo in Burgos lead one to search for others. The cartouche inscribed with the name of the personified figures in each panel of the papal monument recurs, but unfortunately Diego de Siloe did not carve the names, and the printed letters once there have vanished with time. Diego's admiration of Antonio Pollaiuolo ended there and neither in style of figures, in technique, nor in the iconography of the Virtues is there any further dependence upon the Florentine sculptor. The Acuña Virtues hold the attributes used in Italy during the Renaissance, but they are not in every case identical with those employed by Antonio Pollaiuolo. The figure of Charity (Fig. 22) is patently inspired by Donatello's reliefs of the Madonna and Child, and Diego surely had seen a work like the famous Madonna of the Casa Pazzi, now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin. There can be no doubt that a personification of Charity is intended on the Acuña Tomb, since the figure belongs to a series of the seven Virtues. The iconography representing Charity with one

See Part I of this article, which appeared in the ART BULLETIN for September, 1943, for Figures 1-14, and footnotes 1-47. Part I deals with the early works of Ordóñez and Diego de Siloe in Naples and Barcelona.

48. Martínez y Sanz, *Historia del templo catedral de Burgos*, Burgos, 1866, pp. 130, 288-289.

49. Henríquez Flórez, *España sagrada*, Madrid, 1771, xxvi, p. 410.

child and a handful of fire, here flickering above the legs of the woman, is common in Italy.⁵⁰

The effigy lies prone in traditional fashion dressed in pontifical robes and mitre, his hands gloved and jewelled, and with an episcopal staff under his arm. The muscles of the face are relaxed in a graphic expression of death, suggesting that the artist may have had at his disposal the Bishop's death mask. This likeness (Fig. 16), the only one satisfactorily preserved in the entire work of Diego de Siloe, is competent. It displays, however, no particular sympathy for portraiture, and consequently causes no regret that the artist turned to it so rarely. The draperies are arranged in flowing decorative lines which reveal Diego's exceptional skill in carving of this kind, one of his finest gifts as an artist. In ornament he never fails, although here the arabesques on the pillow and upon the upper edge of the sarcophagus and the moulding of palmettes below are more conventional than would be expected of him.⁵¹ The winged monsters flanking the Acuña escutcheons, on the other hand, have the dash and vigor in their crisp decorative lines which characterize Diego at his best and will be met again in the *Escalera Dorada*, the choir-stalls at Valladolid, and numerous late works in Granada.

The designs for the Acuña Virtues are unquestionably from the hand of Diego de Siloe himself, as the documentation and their Italianate style prove. Just as certainly the actual carving was delegated largely to assistants. The mediocrity of the technique in general and the very bad carving of the hands and feet of Justice and Fortitude in particular can leave no doubt on that point. The Virtues (Figs. 17, 22) contrast sharply with the technical perfection of reliefs by Diego's own hand, such as the Madonna and Child (Fig. 25) of the San Jerónimo choir-stalls and the reliefs of the Valladolid choir-stalls (Figs. 5, 24), to mention only works of the fifteen-twenties. Charity and Hope stand among the best of the Acuña Virtues in quality but even they do not meet Diego's highest standards. The reasons for delegating some of the carving to mediocre assistants and for the great simplicity of the tomb as a whole are easily explained by the price paid for the monument. Diego received the absurdly small sum of two hundred ducats for it,⁵² probably because he was young and willing to work for so little in order to make a professional beginning at Burgos. The price of 2100 gold ducats promised Ordóñez for the Cisneros Tomb furnishes a striking contrast,⁵³ and, although the latter is a more elaborate work, that circumstance alone does not explain the great discrepancy between the amounts paid for the Acuña and Cisneros Tombs.

Historically the Acuña Tomb is of the greatest importance in a study of Diego's career. Here for the first time he appears alone, and reveals to us his own personal style independent of that of his former associate Ordóñez. The art of Michelangelo dominated his mind, and it is responsible for the massive bodies of the Virtues which are very different from the Michelangelesque figures of Ordóñez. The latter usually preferred the exaggeratedly tall female type with small head seen in the Barcelona Trascoro and in the late tombs produced at Carrara. Diego's Virtues on the Acuña Tomb are short in stature, broad shouldered, and heavy limbed. They sit filling the vertical space of the relief, their draperies spread broadly over the lower part of the body; the folds are carefully arranged with an eye to repeated parallel lines and repeated curves, in other words with a Renaissance integration of design. This style of drapery, previously noted in the figures of St. Mark (Fig. 6) and St. Luke of the Caracciolo Altar, is best seen in the Acuña Tomb in Charity (Fig. 22), whereas other Virtues like Hope (Fig. 17) embody a weak imitation of it by an apprentice following his master's sketch. It is interesting to find in these reliefs a motive consisting of a whirl of

50. See R. van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane*, The Hague, 1931, figs. 21, 22, 47. The fire is not visible in the detail reproduced in this article (Fig. 22).

51. The epitaph on the top of the sarcophagus reads as follows: "PROPTER UTRUMQUE LATUS PRAE-

SUL LUDOVICUS ACUÑA OSSORIO STIRPES QUAS ADAMAVIT HABET. ANNO M. CD XCV."

52. Martínez y Sanz, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-289.

53. García Rey, "El sepulcro del Cardenal Cisneros," *Arte español*, IX, 1928/29, p. 485.



FIG. 15. Burgos, Cathedral: Diego de Siloe, Tomb of Luis de Acuña



FIG. 16. Detail of Head, Tomb of Luis de Acuña



FIG. 17. Hope, Tomb of Luis de Acuña

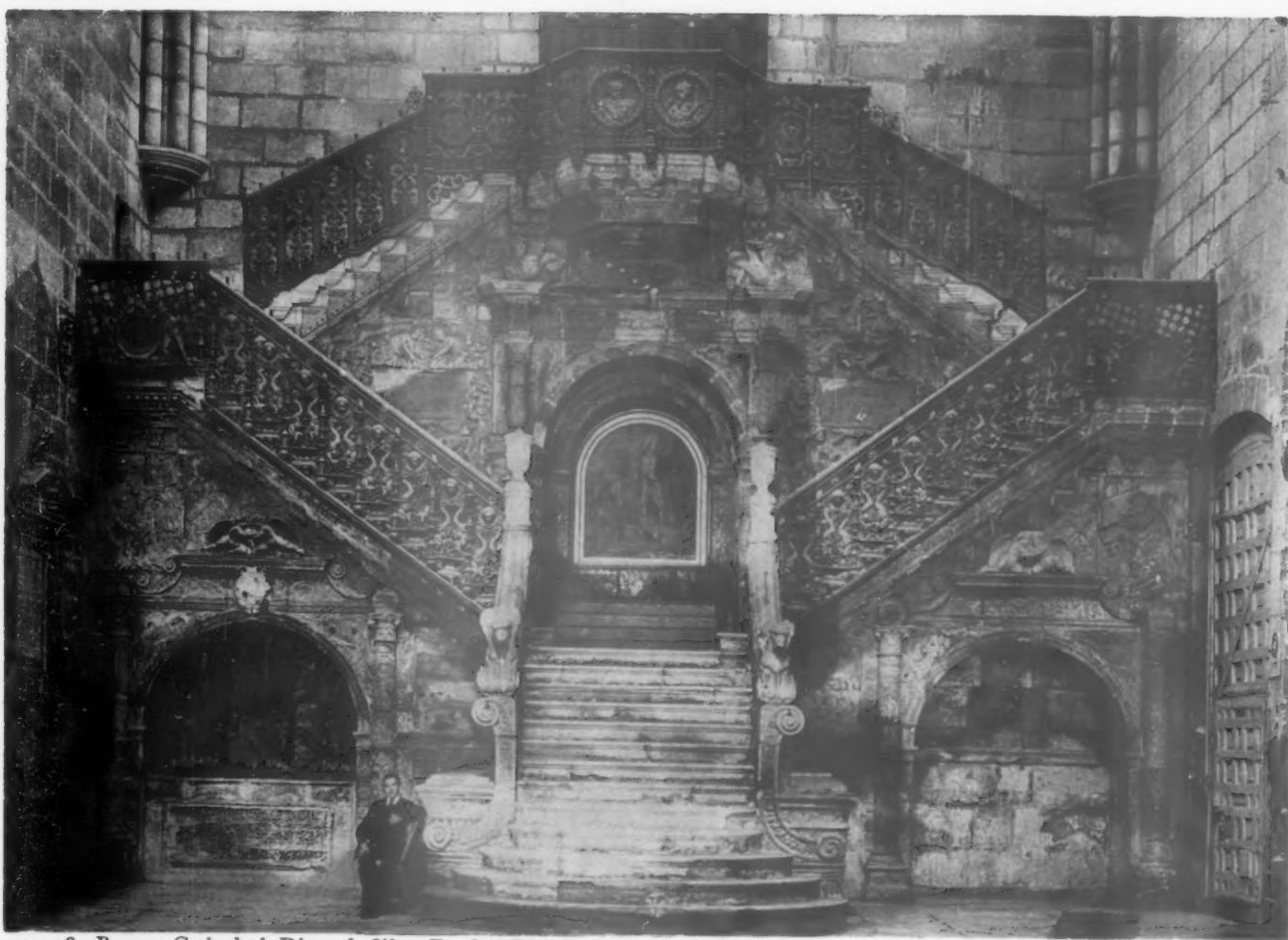


FIG. 18. Burgos, Cathedral: Diego de Siloe, Escalera Dorada

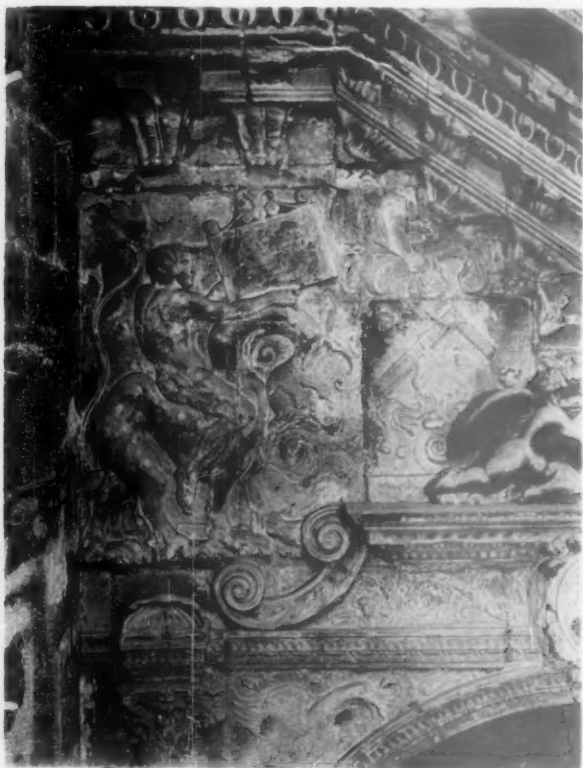


FIG. 19. Detail, Escalera Dorada

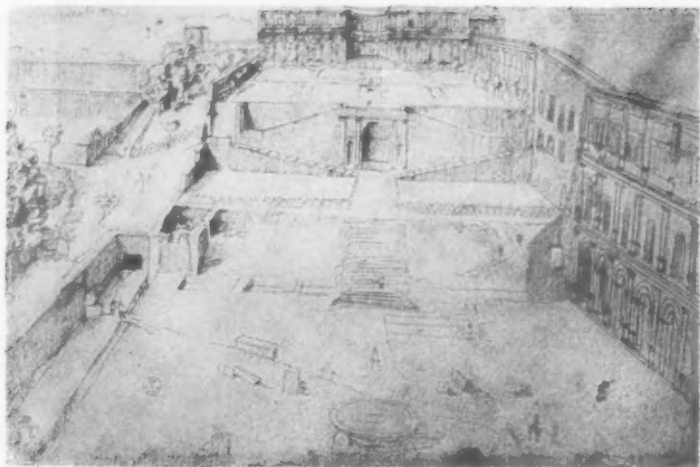


FIG. 20. Florence, Uffizi: Dosio, Drawing of Belvedere Court

elliptical folds placed at the shoulders of Fortitude and Justice, proof that this typical Italian scheme was introduced into Burgos by Diego de Siloe. A number of instances of it in the Renaissance school of Burgos come to mind: the charming alabaster reliefs of the Madonna in Burgos Cathedral and in the Metropolitan Museum at New York,⁵⁴ a tondo of the Madonna occupying the tympanum of a tomb in San Gil, Burgos,⁵⁵ and certain panels of the choir-stalls from San Benito, Valladolid.⁵⁶ Returning to the Acuña Tomb we find that Diego employed two types of heads in the Virtues. The straight classical profile he gave with variations to Charity (Fig. 22), Prudence, Justice, and Grammar; a round, full face he bestowed upon Hope (Fig. 17) and Fortitude. Both types are significant in establishing his personal standard of beauty, and they will be encountered again and again in all of the sculpture of his Burgos period.

The importance of the Acuña Tomb for any understanding of the sculpture of Diego de Siloe is self-evident. Even though the reliefs of the Virtues were carved in the main by assistants, the design was his, and these figures provide an accurate index to his personal methods of design and to his personal canons for the human figure without which no competent discussion of his sculpture is possible. Aside from its historical value the tomb of Luis de Acuña is a superior monument of the Spanish Renaissance, of a chaste simplicity in design which displays an inventive spirit of first rank in the original disposition of features assimilated from others.

Just four months after the first appearance of Diego de Siloe in Burgos he was awarded the contract for the famous *Escalera Dorada* in the north transept of the Cathedral, as recorded in the document of November 4, 1519. This work (Fig. 18) reached completion by January 7, 1523, when the iron-work of the balustrade, wrought by a Frenchman, Maestre Hilario, was taxed. The gilding of the balustrade which gave the stairway its name, *Escalera Dorada*, was, we must conclude, done subsequently, because payments are recorded in the years 1524 and 1526.⁵⁷ Details of the stone sculpture, such as the nude youths (Fig. 19), the angels, the rectangular plaques, and doubtless other parts of the decoration were originally touched up with paint and gilt, nearly all of which has faded away. Only the balustrade preserves much of the gilding. The variegated appearance of the stone today is explained by the discoloration left by the polychromy, the irregular deposits of the grime of centuries, and minor restorations and replacements in the treads and modern urns upon the stone balustrade.

The magnificent architectural design of the *Escalera Dorada* is one of the outstanding creations of the Spanish Renaissance. The strictly symmetrical scheme of the oblique balustrades rising from the strongly accented center of the stairway and the return of the oblique lines to the center in the upper balustrade produce a monumental effect which has few rivals. Every part of the structure is integrated with an impeccable sense of scale and proportion. The arched niches at the lower right and left supply a firm base for the design and serve as anchoring units to the central niche. Every possible emphasis is given to the center of the composition: by the axial approach of the steps leading to the large recessed niche in the middle of the monument from which the ramps rise left and right, and by the projecting balcony in the upper center. Every detail is subtly planned with respect to the whole in true Renaissance spirit. Observe how the first four steps curve, each step proportionately smaller, how the volutes at the sides of the steps lead the eye into the design, and how this section is given further weight by the sarcophagus-like members flanking the central approach.

54. See H. E. Wethey, "A Madonna and Child by Diego de Siloe," ART BULLETIN, XXII, 1940, p. 193, figs. 5-6.

55. G. Weise, *Spanische Plastik*, Reutlingen, 1929, III, pl. 256.

56. *Idem*, pls. 373, 378-379.

57. Martínez y Sanz, *Historia del templo catedral de Burgos*, pp. 125-126, 287-288.

A monumental stairway composed on a central axis with oblique ramps rising in two tiers was to become the crowning feature of many a great Italian palace of the mid-sixteenth century and later. Most familiar among them are the garden façades of Vignola's Villa Farnese at Caprarola (*circa* 1565) and of Pirro Ligorio's Villa d'Este at Tivoli (*circa* 1550-1572).⁵⁸ All of these works, Diego de Siloe's, Vignola's, and Pirro Ligorio's were inspired by one great prototype, a fact which, in the case of the *Escalera Dorada* at least, has not hitherto been recognized. The prototype was none other than Bramante's design for the Belvedere Court of the Vatican Palace, the upper and lower levels of which were united by the first great exterior stairway of the Renaissance. It was unhappily destroyed to make way for the Vatican Library in the reign of Sixtus V (1585-1590). Bramante died in 1514 at a time when his project was far from completed. In fact Vasari states that Pius IV (1559-1565) was at last bringing the work to conclusion.⁵⁹ A print dated 1565 which shows the whole Belvedere Court proves that the exterior including the great stairway had been finished by that date.⁶⁰ Hence the reason why adaptations of Bramante's design, planned in the time of Julius II and completed by 1565, begin to appear for the first time with frequency in the mid-sixteenth century.

We must return now to the *Escalera Dorada* in Burgos Cathedral designed in 1519 and finished by 1523. Here we have then the earliest adaptation of Bramante's scheme, undertaken only five years after the death of the great Italian architect. Diego de Siloe had been in Italy and in Rome during the second decade of the sixteenth century. Even if the construction of the Belvedere Court had not progressed far enough at that time for Diego to have adopted his scheme from it, he could certainly have seen Bramante's original plans and models, the latter of which Vasari mentions as having existed.⁶¹ Dosio's drawing of the Court (Fig. 20), generally dated about 1562, shows the still unfinished status of the work.⁶² A comparison of the drawing with the *Escalera Dorada* (Fig. 18) shows clearly Diego's dependence on Bramante in the axial design with the central approach leading to an architectural niche from which the diagonal ramps rise. Diego changed the proportions to suit the narrow and higher space he had to fill. An examination of the Belvedere Court after its completion, as seen in the print of 1565, reveals how the Spanish architect transformed the inner blocks flanking the lower steps into the arches at the lower left and right of the *Escalera Dorada*.

The possibility remains that Diego de Siloe and Bramante arrived independently at similar plans for a monumental stairway, both derived from the approach to the celebrated ancient Roman Temple of Fortune at Palestrina, near Rome. This site was well known to architects of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,⁶³ and the belief that Bramante found his inspiration in it has long been held.⁶⁴ Even granting that Diego de Siloe might have visited the Roman ruins at Palestrina, the writer holds the opinion that Bramante's design for the Belvedere Court is the source of Diego's scheme for the *Escalera Dorada*. The close interrelations between the two monuments, already discussed, render that conclusion inescapable.

The splendid iron balustrades of the *Escalera Dorada*, the designs for which were unquestionably furnished by Diego de Siloe, were wrought by the Frenchman Maestre Hilario. All of the motives employed and the whole character of the design are strikingly

58. A. Venturi, *Storia del arte italiana*, XI, part 2, *Architettura del cinquecento*, Milan, 1939, figs. 664-665, 897.

59. Vasari, *Le vite*, Milanese Edition, Florence, 1880, IV, pp. 156-158.

60. Venturi, *op. cit.*, XI, part 1, fig. 111.

61. Vasari-Milanese, *loc. cit.*

62. Herman Egger, *Römische Veduten*, Leipzig, 1932, I, p. 32; D. Frey, *Michelangelo-Studien*, Vienna, 1920,

pp. 17 ff., publishes a number of drawings and prints of the Belvedere Court as it appeared before its completion.

63. A. Nibby, *Dintorni di Roma*, Rome, 1848, II, p. 498.

64. Bernard Patzak, *Die Villa Imperiale in Pesaro*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 138; C. Huelsen, "Bramante und Palestrina," *Herman Egger, Festschrift*, Graz, 1933, pp. 57-61.

Siloesque. Later, about 1528-1530, he again used profile heads in medallions⁶⁵ on the choir-stalls of San Jerónimo in Granada. Such medallions were, of course, distinctive of architectural decoration in northern Italy, a section of the country which he may well have known at first hand. The winged cherubs' heads on the balustrade of the first ramps, the colonnettes in the shape of antique candelabra, and the arabesques and grotesques, Diego designed in his most spirited vein. The escutcheon of Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, bishop of Burgos in 1514-1524, the donor of the stairway, appears held by angels at the upper corners of the balustrade.⁶⁶ Other angels holding large plaques decorate the face of the upper wall, and near them are suspended clusters of fruit and fluttering ribbons, reminiscent of Florentine and Roman sculpture of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Of fantastic beasts Diego was especially fond, as nearly every one of his works attests. Atop the entablatures of the central niche are two superb griffins, but still more fanciful and still more decorative are the large grotesque monsters with a nude youth astride each at the extreme right and the extreme left (Fig. 19) above the arched niches in the front wall. The nude youths fit into the design of the ornament, the swinging curves of their bodies partaking of the same rhythms as the beasts they ride. In front of the youth in the left corner a T-square hangs in flourishing ribbons and beside the youth on the opposite side a T-square and compass.

We have already discovered that Diego chose as his models the greatest Italian artists of his day. The main idea for the *Escalera Dorada* he borrowed from Bramante, whereas Michelangelo was the chief source of his figure style at this period of his career. Echoes of the Sistine Chapel are clearly seen in the two nude youths, although neither is an exact copy of any one of the famous *ignudi* whom they recall. Even though Diego was to undertake a much bigger project later when he became architect of Granada Cathedral, he never again achieved such perfection in Renaissance architectural design.

Other works by Diego de Siloe closely related to the tomb of Luis de Acuña and the *Escalera Dorada* in both date and style are the altar of St. Anne with the Virgin in the chapel of St. Anne of Burgos Cathedral and the tomb of Diego de Santander in the cloister.⁶⁷ The former, commissioned on July 12, 1522, has statues and a relief of the Pietà in polychrome wood, whereas the rest of the monument is in stone, which according to the specifications was originally gilded.⁶⁸ The quality of the sculpture on the whole falls well below the master's best standards, and this is to be explained again by the fact that he was underpaid, in this case receiving about 97 ducats for the retable and two other works in the same chapel, to be mentioned below. His decorative repertory of clustered fruits suspended on ribbons, swans, cherubs' heads, and volutes reveals the same mind which created the *Escalera Dorada*. Here the artist's Italian training is further emphasized by the triumphal-arch shape of the altar, so typical of the Renaissance. It is an adaptation of the Florentine type represented by Andrea Sansovino's Corbinelli Altar in Sto. Spirito, Florence. The Spanish altar differs from its Florentine prototype in many respects, especially in the greater height of the central section which is comparable with the scheme of Sansovino's Basso and Sforza Tombs in Sta. Maria del Popolo, Rome.⁶⁹

The statues of polychrome wood-sculpture in the altar of St. Anne consist of the central group of St. Anne, the Virgin and the Child, the Pietà, and two saints in niches, Sts. Bartholomew and Vitores. The finest are the main group and St. Vitores. The Pietà and St. Bartholomew, although designed by Diego, were in the writer's opinion left to an assistant.

65. The figures in the medallions of the projecting balcony are Sts. Peter and Paul, on each side of whom are four medallions with winged heads of cherubs. The profile heads in medallions in the panels of the sloping sides are alternately male and female.

66. The escutcheon upon the large arch at the lower

left, added later, is that of Bernardino Gutiérrez who is interred there.

67. Reproduced in Weise, *op. cit.*, III, pls. 176-180.

68. Martínez y Sanz, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-291.

69. G. H. Huntley, *Andrea Sansovino*, Cambridge, 1935, pls. 8, 37, 42.

The altar of St. Anne is small and unpretentious, but its fanciful design has considerable charm, and the titular group, though slightly damaged, combines skill in the interplay of its formal relations with tenderness of sentiment. The epitaph with the effigy of García de Medina and the holy-water basin, both ordered of Diego at the same time as the retable of St. Anne, have disappeared.⁷⁰

Gómez-Moreno has recently published for the first time the effigy of St. Casilda in stone and a statue of the Madonna in wood, both of which are in the shrine of St. Casilda at San Vicente de Buerzo. A document of September 7, 1524, in the archives of Burgos Cathedral records the petition of Diego de Siloe for payment for certain work which he had done in the church of St. Casilda ("de cierta obra que fizo en Sta. Casilda").⁷¹ Both of the statues illustrated by Gómez-Moreno undoubtedly came from Siloe's workshop, the Madonna being of the same type as the Virgin in the altar of St. Anne. The effigy of St. Casilda has been badly painted and gilded and so decked out in jewels that she affords little aesthetic pleasure today. Moreover, the design is confused and badly motivated. The position of the body with shoulders raised and head tipped back is of considerable interest, however, because it somewhat resembles the effigy of Andrea Bonifacio in Naples.

The tomb of Diego de Santander, for which no document remains, must be ranked in quality above the altar of St. Anne and the works at San Vicente de Buerzo. The typical Siloesque ornament recurs and two fantastic beasts of the same temper as those on the *Escalera Dorada*. Because of the identity of style, the tomb must be dated in the same years as the work last discussed, probably in 1523/24, immediately after the death of the canon on September 27, 1523. Badly deteriorated as it is with the stone crumbling, the effigy disfigured, the two statues at the sides missing, and the polychromy of the main relief in large part disintegrated, the tomb still remains one of the artist's best works. The general design of the monument represents an assimilation to the Renaissance of a late Gothic type of tomb with large sculptured relief on the wall behind the sarcophagus, such as that of Gonzalo de Burgos (†1509) which also stands in the cathedral cloister. Diego de Siloe again employed the triumphal-arch motive and not a vestige of Gothic design persists.

The large relief of the Madonna and Child (Fig. 21) dominates the tomb, a fact which the reproduction of this detail alone does not convey. When seen in relation to the arch above and to the tomb as a whole the group has monumentality and lacks the appearance of extreme squatness here suggested. The curving outline of the composition repeats the curve of the arch above, and the formal relations are skilfully integrated by the use of recurrent curves and repeated parallel lines in draperies, a type of design ever close to Diego's heart (Figs. 5-6, 23-25). Like the *Acuña Virtues* (Figs. 17, 22) the Madonna has the heroic physique of Michelangelo's sculpture and painting. The relief is also comparable in iconography and in monumentality of conception with works by Jacopo Sansovino, such as the relief of the Madonna in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, to be dated about 1530.⁷² This artist's works Diego had certainly seen as well as Raphael's Madonnas, among which the Madonna of the Casa Alba, now in the National Gallery at Washington, is the closest analogue. Diego was less great than any of the Italians just mentioned but he gave to the Madonna and Child an intensity of feeling which is deeply compelling and utterly Spanish.

Before attacking the problems connected with Diego's Burgos period we shall discuss two indisputable works to be dated about 1528-1530, which mark the end of the early career of the artist with which this article is concerned. Having thus established Diego's

70. Martínez y Sanz, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-291.

71. Martínez y Sanz, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-191; Gómez-Moreno, *Águilas del renacimiento esp.*, Madrid, 1941, pp. 43, 198.

72. Leo Planiscig, *Venezianische Bildhauer*, Vienna, 1921, p. 367.



FIG. 21. Burgos, Cathedral: Diego de Siloe, Madonna and Child, Tomb of Diego de Santander



FIG. 22. Burgos, Cathedral: Diego de Siloe, Charity, Tomb of Luis de Acuña



FIG. 23. London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Diego de Siloe, Madonna and Child



FIG. 24. Valladolid, Museo de Bellas Artes: Diego de Siloe, St. John the Baptist, Choir-stalls of San Benito



FIG. 25. Granada, San Jerónimo: Diego de Siloe, Madonna and Child, Choir-stalls

style and personality we shall have solid ground upon which to deal with debatable material in Burgos.

In the year 1528 Diego de Siloe went to Granada, where on April 20 he agreed to complete the apse of the monastic church of San Jerónimo begun three years earlier by Jacopo Fiorentino.⁷³ Payment for the choir-stalls was not made until 1544, but they appear for stylistic reasons to have been executed almost immediately after Diego was engaged upon the church.⁷⁴ They consist of an upper and lower range, the decoration of the latter being limited to a profile head in a medallion enframed between arabesques and grotesques on the back of each stall. The seats of the upper range are separated by balustered colonnettes, and in each panel of the back is a plaque suspended on ribbons from a shell. Each plaque has a cherub's head below it and is carved with a verse of the Psalms. Behind the seats proper and also serving as a cornice atop the upper range are heads in medallions just like those of the lower stalls. The elements of the design are so identical to the ornamental details of the *Escalera Dorada* in Burgos that no one could doubt Diego's authorship or that they should be dated at the very beginning of his activity upon the Church of San Jerónimo, that is about 1528-1530.

The prior's seat is distinguished from the rest of the stalls by the figure of the Madonna and Child in full length (Fig. 25) and a bust of God the Father. Undoubtedly anxious to prove his worth as a newcomer to Granada, a city which contained sculpture by the Italians, Domenico Fancelli and Jacopo Fiorentino, and by the Burgalés, Felipe Vigarni, as well as numerous lesser men, Diego put forth his best effort in the Madonna and Child, a work entirely by his own hand. The quality of this relief in wood is, in the opinion of the present writer, the equal of the Madonnas of Desiderio da Settignano and Antonio Rossellino. The Florentine school of the fifteenth century is the source of the iconography and technique of low relief in this lovely figure at Granada. Diego has modified here the massive Michelangelesque physique which he employed in the Virtues of Luis de Acuña's tomb and in the Madonna of the tomb of Diego de Santander to a more pleasing canon of beauty. The handling of the drapery with its parallel folds and its integrated design reveals the same style as the works just mentioned, but the technique is so far superior to the Virtues of the Acuña Tomb that it forces the conclusion that Diego left most of the carving of the Virtues to assistants. The slight *contrapposto* of the Madonna's body is subtly subdued, and the movement of the curving lines which pass through her arms and mantle to enclose the body of the Child is accomplished with the insight of a master. The head of the Madonna, her hands, and details of the Child have the same morphological character as in Diego's works already discussed, but here they are rendered with an exceptionally exquisite touch. The sentiment is tender and devout, less melancholy than in the Santander Madonna or the beautiful little alabaster relief of the Madonna and Child in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, previously published by the present writer.⁷⁵ And finally, in the calligraphy of the grotesques above the Madonna's head we see Diego's decorative gifts at their best.

It may have been in the early months of 1528, just before his journey to Granada in April of that year, that Diego carved three reliefs in wood for the choir-stalls of San Benito of Valladolid. His activity in Granada after that time may explain his failure to take further part in these choir-stalls which had been originally commissioned of Andrés de Nájera in 1522.⁷⁶ Weise has already shown that Andrés de Nájera was only the contractor and that the sculpture is the work of several other artists of whom the personalities of Diego de Siloe

73. Gómez-Moreno, "En la capilla real de Granada," *Archivo esp. de arte y arqueol.*, I, 1925, pp. 277, 286.

74. Gómez-Moreno, *Aguilas del renacimiento esp.*, p. 218, pls. 259 ff.

75. H. E. Wethey, *ART BULLETIN*, XXII, 1940, pp. 190-196.

76. Martí y Monsó, *Estudios his.-artísticos*, Valladolid, 1898-1901, pp. 81 ff.

and Guillén de Olanda can be identified on stylistic grounds.⁷⁷ In fact, Gómez-Moreno had previously recognized the large panel with the full-length figure of St. John the Baptist (Fig. 24), the panel representing the Decapitation of St. John (Fig. 5), and the small relief of two confronted monsters as Siloe's work.⁷⁸ The inscription "San Juan de Burgos" on the last mentioned panel indicates that the stall was reserved for the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of San Juan Bautista of Burgos. The abbot may have ordered the stall himself and hence it is easy to understand why he chose his fellow townsman, Diego de Siloe. If the abbot paid only for his own stall and the corresponding one in the lower range, that fact would explain why Diego carved only this small part of the San Benito series. The date, 1528, appears four times on the San Benito stalls; it is inscribed once on the stall of San Juan de Burgos but not upon the figured reliefs. These dates may refer to the completion of the choir-stalls as a whole, and in that case we would have no proof that Diego produced his sculpture during the first three months of 1528. In any event, the exact year is of no great importance, for the panels in Valladolid belong to that period of the artist's career, *circa* 1525-1528, just before he went to Granada, where he was shortly to produce the choir-stalls of San Jerónimo.

The identity of style and technique of the wood-sculpture of the stalls in Valladolid and Granada (Figs. 24, 25) scarcely needs any demonstration in spite of the difference in subject matter. The position of the legs and the turn of the upper part of the body are virtually the same in the figure of the Madonna of San Jerónimo and in the full-length St. John and the executioner of San Benito (Fig. 5). Diego's familiar style of drapery, arranged in parallel folds and in repeated curving shapes about the upper body, is notable in both sets of choir-stalls. Figure types too are easily recognized, especially the facial type of Salome and her bulky physique with its emphatically heavy shoulders, characteristics observed in the Acuña (Figs. 17, 22) and Santander Tombs (Fig. 21). The single figure of St. John (Fig. 24) and the executioner in the Decapitation introduce a note of nervous excitement in their movements and agitated temper, achieved to a considerable degree by fluttering hair and by the curves and broken angles in the contours of the bodies, qualities which are also notable in the St. Sebastian of Barbadillo de Herreros. The contours of the nude youths of the *Escalera Dorada* (Fig. 19) are similarly drawn. There, however, the purpose is purely decorative, whereas the handling of the male figure on the San Benito stalls is far more than decorative. The dramatic motivation is the first consideration, and the body, whose anatomy is well understood, is utilized to that end.

From the point of view of reconstructing Diego's career the San Benito panels are most significant because of their close relationship to his work in Naples and Barcelona when a partner of Ordóñez. The Decapitation of St. John (Fig. 5) contains striking parallels, not only in technique but in individual figures, and most of all in movement and emotional excitement, to the marble relief on the tomb of Andrea Bonifacio in Naples (Fig. 4). Compare Salome with the standing woman on the left and the executioner with the standing man, third from the right end, in the Naples relief. The single figure of St. John the Baptist in Valladolid (Fig. 24) repeats with only slight variations the statue of the same saint in the left niche of the Caracciolo Altar (Fig. 1), but the former work is more mature and much the better of the two in quality. Thus in the reliefs of St. John the Baptist in the San Benito stalls at Valladolid and in the stalls of San Jerónimo at Granada, Diego de Siloe reached the very highest point of his personal and independent achievement in sculpture.

Only after the present article was in press did the writer see Gómez-Moreno's new book in which are added two newly discovered works of foremost importance.⁷⁹ The beautiful

77. Weise, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 269-274.

78. Gómez-Moreno, *Renaissance Sculpture in Spain*, Florence, 1931, p. 52, pls. 38-41.

79. Gómez-Moreno, *Aguilas del renacimiento esp.*, pp. 51, 53.

group of the Holy Family (66 cm. in height), carved in wood, surely belongs to Diego's Burgos period, for it incorporates the tenderness of mood in the Madonna and the playful spirit in the Infant Christ and the Infant St. John which are so notable in Siloe's works of that time. Both the style of the sculpture and the fact that it is now in the Provincial Museum at Valladolid suggest that it may have been connected with the choir-stalls of San Benito, or at least produced for the church of San Benito contemporaneously.

Even more important is the St. Sebastian in white marble (85 cm. in height), which has been unknown hitherto as a result of its location in the parish church of a tiny village, Barbadillo de Herreros (province of Burgos). The exquisite design, workmanship, and feeling of the statuette should win for it recognition as one of the masterpieces of the Renaissance period in Europe.⁸⁰ Stylistically it is most closely related to the choir-stalls of San Benito, and hence should be dated about 1525-1528. The composition of the figure recalls the St. Sebastian of the Caracciolo Altar, and so forms one more link between Diego's activity in Naples and in Spain.

CHAPEL OF THE CONSTABLE

We have postponed to the end of our discussion of Diego's Burgos period the problem of the sculpture in the chapel of the Constable in Burgos Cathedral where our sculptor was engaged in partnership with Felipe Vigarni, assisted by a large workshop. The two artists agreed, apparently in the year 1523, to provide seventeen statues for the exterior of the chapel. These figures, which were never executed by them, are small and of a decorative nature, since the comparatively small sum of one hundred ducats was promised for them. The high altar of the chapel commissioned in the same year had been completed, and had been painted by León Picardo when it was evaluated on May 19, 1526. The price paid to the sculptors was the very large sum of 2500 ducats, not including the 500 ducats given León Picardo for the painting and gilding.⁸¹

Let us consider the relative professional standing of the two sculptors in the years 1523-1526. Felipe Vigarni, a man about fifty years old, had already had a long busy career which had taken him to several great cities of Spain. Briefly his chief works up to this time had been: the Trasaltar reliefs of Burgos Cathedral (1498-1513), four scenes and some statutes on the high altar of Toledo Cathedral (1502-1504), the retablo of the University Chapel in Salamanca (1503-1505), eighteen statues on the high altar of Palencia Cathedral (1505-1506), the choir-stalls of Burgos Cathedral (1507-1512), the retablo and portal of Sto. Tomás at Haro (1516-1519), and finally about 1521 the high altar of the Capilla Real at Granada.⁸² Diego de Siloe in 1523 was a young man, probably between thirty and thirty-five years of age, who had made a brilliant beginning in the *Escalera Dorada*, had completed the Acuña Tomb and the retablo of St. Anne, and was probably at work on the Santander Tomb. His reputation must also have gained by his partnership with Ordóñez in Naples and Barcelona. Thus it can be seen that Vigarni's fame was much greater, although Diego de Siloe was his superior as an artist.

Vigarni received the major share of the commissions in the Constable Chapel, and it seems likely that he proposed that Diego de Siloe, the younger man, be associated with him in the sculpture of the high altar and the seventeen statues already mentioned. These works for the Constable Chapel are the chief sculptures by Diego in the years 1523-1528 for which documents are preserved. The beginning of the tower of the parish church of Sta.

80. The author regrets his inability to secure photographs of this and of other works because of the insurmountable obstacles created by the war.

81. C. G. Villacampa, "La capilla del Condestable," *Archivo esp. de arte y arqueol.*, IV, 1928, pp. 25-44.

82. A complete bibliography of Felipe Vigarni is to be found in the author's article on the sculptor in Thieme-Becker, *Künstler-lexikon*, XXXIV, 1940. The best study of Vigarni's career is in Weise, *Spanische Plastik*, III, pp. 64-105.

María del Campo in 1527 is the only other documented undertaking, not previously mentioned in this article, prior to his transfer to Granada in 1528.⁸³ On the other hand, Vigarni was engaged by the Velasco family for still more works of sculpture in addition to those already mentioned, all of them produced in the years 1523-1528, namely, the double tomb of the founders of the Constable Chapel (1525), the choir-stalls and organ seats (1525-1528). Besides all of this work he carved the tomb of Gonzalo de Lerma (1524-1525) and two nonextant retables (1528) for Burgos Cathedral, and for the cathedral of Toledo the retable of San Ildefonso (1525-1527). Even with his large workshop Vigarni was laden with more commissions than he could manage, and it is small wonder that Diego de Siloe, the other important sculptor active in Burgos at that time, should have been engaged to share the high altar for the Constable Chapel.

The problem of the high altar of the Constable Chapel can be approached only after a consideration of all of the factors just passed in review. Payments were made to Diego de Siloe and Felipe Vigarni for the sculpture and to León Picardo for the painting and gilding in the years 1523-1526. No doubt can exist that the retable was made in the workshop of these men. Careful examination reveals the participation of several assistants. The general architectural design of the retable (Fig. 26) must be credited to Vigarni, since its heterogeneous character with Gothic survivals is at odds with Diego's Italianate style. The canopies in the predella and over the niches of the second story are late Gothic, dressed in Renaissance motives. Although Diego's influence is seen in the large festoons above the main scene of the Presentation, in the cherub's head, in the clusters of fruit suspended on ribbons, and in the grotesques throughout the altar, his personal design is strikingly absent. His calligraphy, his decorative fancy, and his more Italianate idiom are notably lacking. To be sure, the actual carving of the ornament was left in any event to assistants, but neither the design of the retable as a whole nor the ornament can be attributed to Diego de Siloe. On the other hand, Vigarni's personality is easily recognized. The large stage-like arrangement of the altar with the Presentation enacted therein is probably a reflection of liturgical plays, like the Holy Sepulchres of his native Burgundy. The predella, the whole second story with its niches, and the Crucifixion above are late Gothic in arrangement, done over in an eclectic Renaissance manner. This fusion of two styles is common outside of Italy during the sixteenth century. The general effect of the retable is rich and imposing, but the ornamental details are dry and weakly planned.

The figure sculpture of the high altar in the Constable Chapel is the result of the collaboration of several men.⁸⁴ To Diego de Siloe and his assistants may be assigned the following: the large group at the left in the Presentation including the Madonna and Child, St. Joseph and the maid servant; the Nativity, Visitation, and two corbel figures of the predella; the angels below the Crucifixion group; and probably the three figures of Christ in the second story. To Vigarni and his assistants belong the priest and Simeon in the right half of the Presentation, the Annunciation of the predella, and the Crucifixion group. A third artist, whom we shall call the Master of St. Mark, can be distinguished in the statues of the Church and Synagogue, located in the second story, and in the St. Mark of the predella.

Vigarni's hand can easily be detected in the figures of the priest and Simeon. The short thick-set bodies with over-elaborated draperies characterized by puckered folds can be seen both in these two statues of the Constable Altar and in the contemporary effigies of the Velasco Tomb in the same chapel, the tomb of Gonzalo de Lerma, and repeatedly in the later choir-stalls of Toledo Cathedral (1539-1543), all works of Vigarni. The thin curv-

83. Luciano Huidobro, "Artistas burgaleses, Diego de Siloe," *Bol. de la Com. de Mon. his. y art. de Burgos*, 1922-1923, pp. 7, 10.

84. For detailed reproductions see Weise, *op. cit.*, III, pls. 202-215.

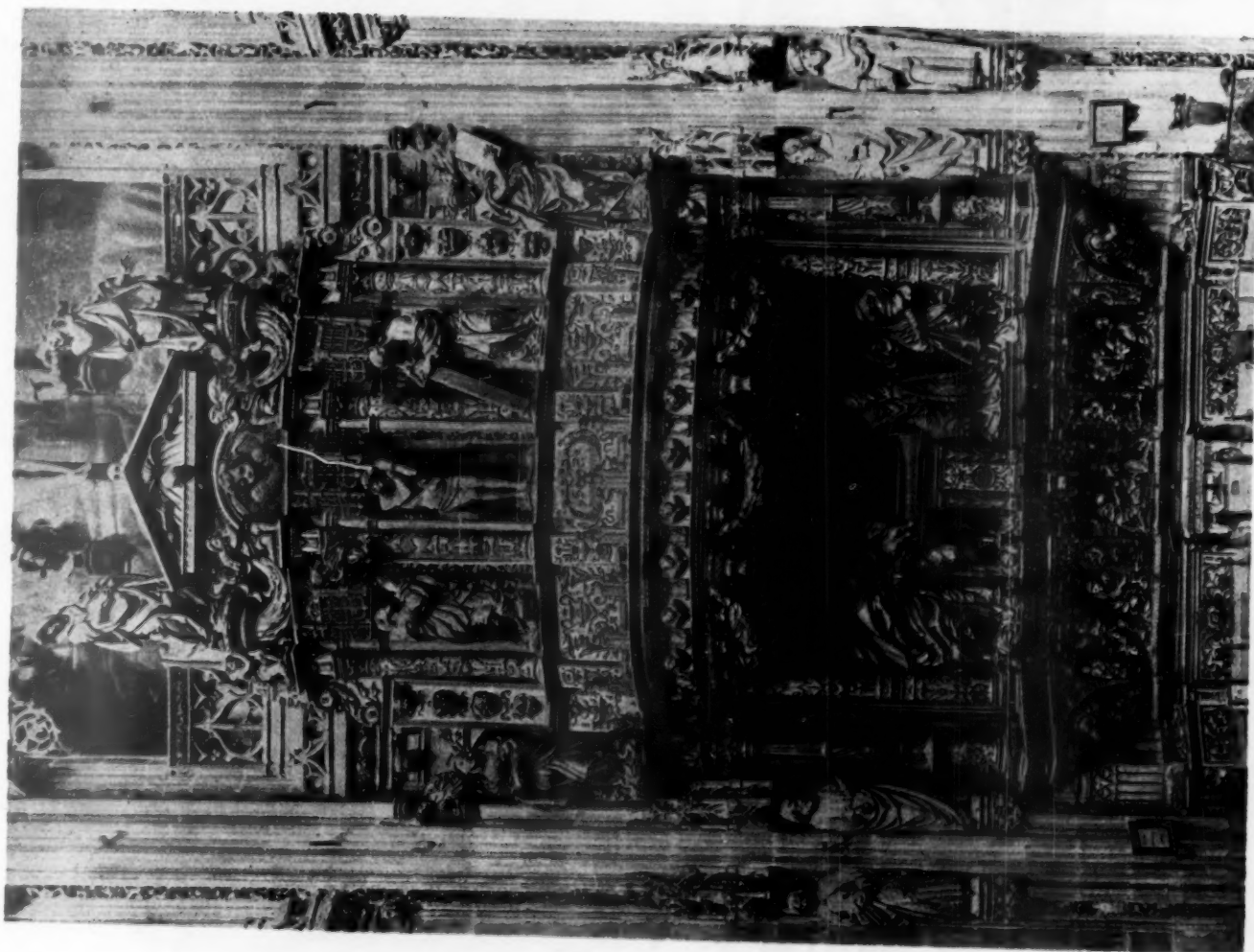


FIG. 26. Burgos, Cathedral: Diego de Siloe and Felipe Vigarni, Constable Altar



FIG. 27. Diego de Siloe, Detail, Constable Altar



FIG. 28. Diego de Siloe, Detail of Predella, Constable Altar

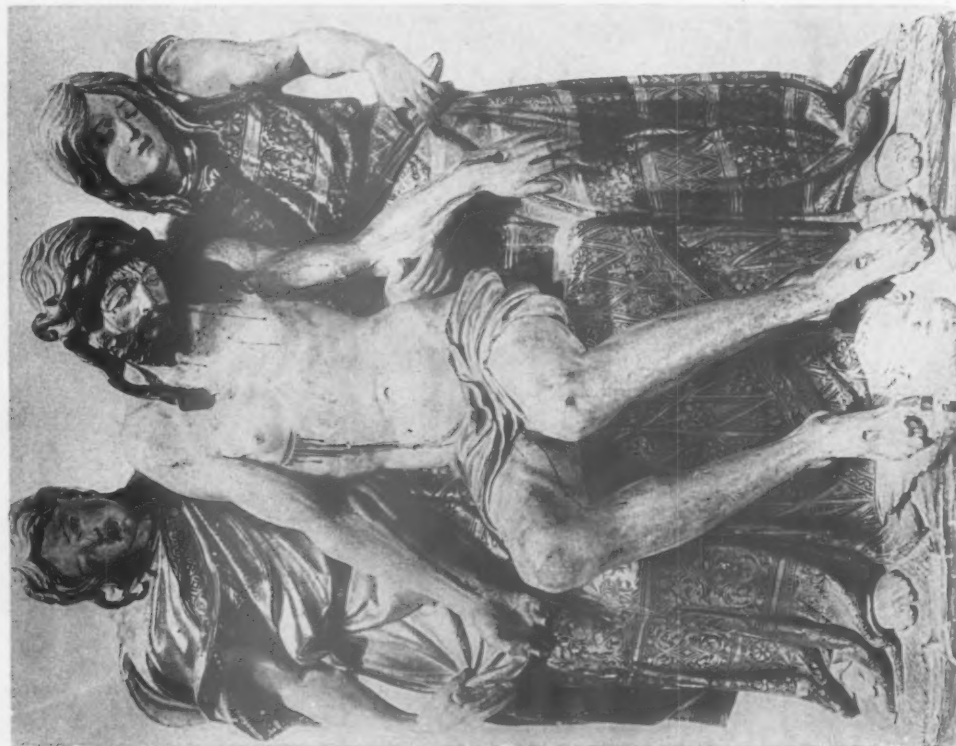


FIG. 29. Burgos, Cathedral: Diego de Siloe, Pietà



FIG. 30. Burgos, Cathedral: Workshop of Diego de Siloe, St. Mary Magdalen

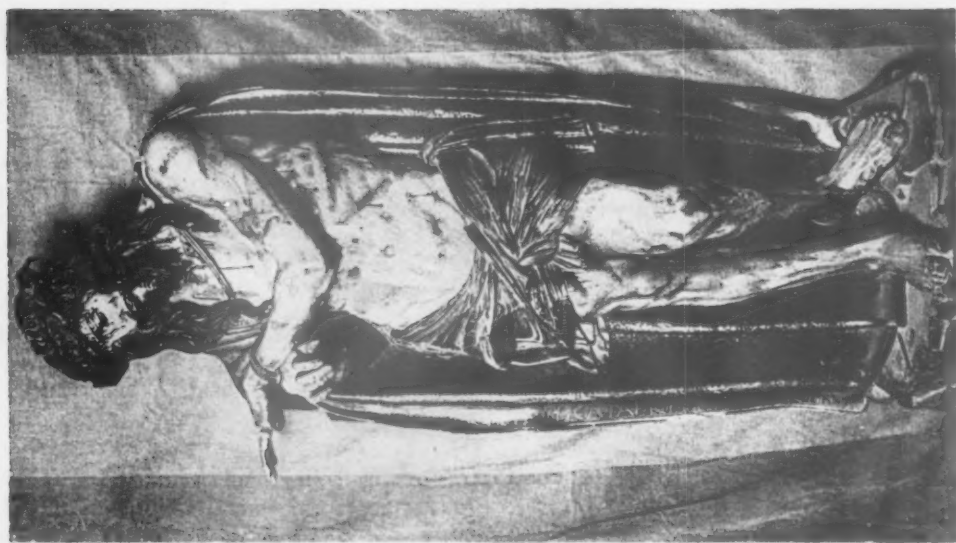


FIG. 31. Dacñas, San Agustín: Diego de Siloe, Ecce Homo

ing lines of the priest's costume in the Constable Altar likewise appear in the tomb of Gonzalo de Lerma and the Toledo choir-stalls. These two works also supply the best parallels for the head of the priest. The head of Simeon, on the contrary, is unprecedented so far as Vigarni is concerned, but has instead a striking affinity to that of St. Luke of the Caracciolo Altar in its shape and in its pronounced bony structure. Here then Vigarni reacted to the stimulus of Diego de Siloe's art just as he did elsewhere, notably in the tomb of Gonzalo de Lerma. The most casual examination of the Annunciation in the predella of the Constable Altar, clearly in Vigarni's style, will reveal the fact that the Madonna and the Gabriel are by two different assistants. The Crucifixion at the top of the retable preserves the late Gothic tradition in the position it occupies and more important still, in its frantic mood. Here Vigarni's personal touch is absent, but the Crucifixion shows sufficient relation to his workshop to be classified under that heading.

The present writer's partition of the sculpture among its several authors is in agreement, so far as the Presentation and predella are concerned, with the conclusions earlier reached by Gómez-Moreno.⁸⁵ The group of life-sized figures on the left side of the Presentation (Figs. 26, 27) are the finest of the whole retable. The broken folds of the Virgin's fluttering mantle suggest that Diego de Siloe may have been slightly influenced by Vigarni, even though the effigy of Luis de Acuña, in which there is no question of such an influence, shows a somewhat similar handling. However, in the parallel arrangement of the folds of the Virgin's skirt, which is consistently characteristic of Diego's design, the possible influence of others is not an issue. The three adults and the Child are most typical of Diego de Siloe's art, especially the Madonna and Child, so strikingly like the Santander Madonna (Fig. 21) in appearance and in tenderness of feeling. The grouping of these figures, their movements throughout space as the action passes from the head of the maidservant through the shoulders and arms of the Madonna to St. Joseph, and the contrast in the direction of the Child's body to the parallel inclination of the heads of the Madonna and St. Joseph incorporate the integration of form and action so skilfully explained by Wölfflin in his analysis of Renaissance art. Among the artists of Burgos only Diego de Siloe with his Italian training could have conceived this group. An Italian reminiscence of more specific nature is the maidservant bearing a basket of doves on her head, a quotation from Ghirlandaio's Birth of the Baptist in Sta. Maria Novella, Florence, where the servant balances a tray of fruit in the same fashion. The Visitation (Fig. 28) of the predella could hardly be more Siloesque with its Renaissance composition of V-shape and in facial types which, like the maidservant of the Presentation, are exactly duplicated by the Acuña Virtues (Figs. 17, 22). The Nativity, on the contrary, appears to have been carved with the aid of assistants, although the Madonna is most characteristic of Diego de Siloe. The drawing for the composition seems to have been supplied by Vigarni, because the composition and background are utterly foreign to Siloe's art. Very peculiar is the elaborate treatment of the rocks, the clusters of grass, and the large vine which grows over them at the right.

The three statues of Christ in the upper register of the retable representing the scene in Gethsemane, Christ at the Column, and the Via Dolorosa (Fig. 26) involve a mixture of the styles of Vigarni and Siloe which causes some perplexity as to their authorship. The postures and the movements of the arms recall Diego's St. John the Baptist in Valladolid (Fig. 24) and the Madonna of San Jerónimo, Granada (Fig. 25). The types of heads and the curly hair of the Christ in Gethsemane and the Christ at the Column are especially Siloesque. As for the draperies, however, the pictorial handling is in Vigarni's style and not Siloe's. Hence it must be concluded that Diego supplied the general designs and carved the heads, but left the draperies to assistants in the workshop.

85. Gómez-Moreno, *Renaissance Sculpture in Spain*, p. 50.

The third sculptor, whose style is marked by brusque movement, exaggerated *contrapposto*, and ill-proportioned figures, is the Master of St. Mark. His peculiarities, especially the violent *contrapposto*, which one would expect to find in monuments of a decade later, distinguish the statuette of St. Mark in the predella and the personifications of the Church and Synagogue in the upper register. Although this assistant performed his duties under the direction of the two masters, his own personal exaggeration of Renaissance formulae which he had learned from Diego stands out prominently. Other minor figures such as the remaining three Evangelists of the predella must be catalogued as products of the workshop of Vigarni and Siloe.

The high altar of the Constable Chapel is Diego de Siloe's most important venture during his Burgos period in the field of polychrome wood-sculpture, the traditional medium of the Spanish school in the Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque periods. The general design of the monument is one which he, Italian trained, would never have planned, as all of his independent works prove. Diego can be regarded only as a collaborator second in command to Vigarni. Even so, he has bequeathed us, in the left group of the Presentation, sculpture of very high quality.

Contemporary with the high altar (*circa* 1523-1526) of the Constable Chapel is one of Diego's masterpieces, the beautiful little alabaster relief of the Madonna and Child in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Fig. 23). Because the author has already devoted an article to its publication, he considers it unnecessary to repeat here everything that he has previously said.⁸⁶ This work measures only 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches by 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and was undoubtedly set in a frame with a standard like a small mirror, as is the relief of the Madonna and Child in the treasure of the Constable Chapel which is derivative in iconography and composition from Diego's London Madonna. The excellent state of preservation of the sculpture leaves little to be desired, and even the gilding on the hair and the touches of polychromy on the eyes and lips have survived. The very slight puckering of the drapery resembles Diego's sculpture in the high altar of the Constable Chapel, and in both cases it is indicative of his response to Flemish influences through the intermediary of his partner, Vigarni. Another and a direct Flemish inspiration, this time from the paintings of Jan Gossaert, may be responsible for the arrangement of the hair with puffs behind the ears and the strand of curls upon the cheek, so peculiar to Gossaert's Madonnas. Both the Madonna and the Child of the London relief are such personal creations of Diego de Siloe that it is unnecessary to insist upon morphological comparisons. Never was his technique surer than it is here. Never was his design lovelier either in respect to the whole or in respect to details of heads, hands, and drapery. Never did he surpass this small work in deeply compelling emotion.

The small retablo of St. Peter on the left in the Constable Chapel and the additional figures in Gil de Siloe's altar of St. Anne (*circa* 1500) on the right side were produced by the Vigarni-Siloe partnership during the period the high altar was in progress (1523-1526). A document of 1529 proves that León Picardo painted and gilded not only the high altar of the Constable Chapel, but these two side altars as well, a fact concerning which the style alone leaves no doubt. The document is a contract in which "León Picardo, maestro de pintura de retablos, vecino . . . de Burgos" agreed to paint and gild the high altar of Oviedo Cathedral as "well and better than that I did in the three retablos of the Constable Chapel in Burgos" ("digo que haré tan buena y mejor como la que hize en los tres retablos de la Capilla de Condestable de Burgos").⁸⁷ Another document, among those concerned with the completion of the Constable Chapel, which seems to belong to the year

86. H. E. Wethey, *ART BULLETIN*, XXII, 1940, pp. 190-196. A mediocre Madonna in San Gil, Burgos, by a follower of Diego de Siloe, shows some relationship to

the Madonnas published by the author in this article. See Gómez-Moreno, *Aguilas del renacimiento esp.*, p. 51.

87. *Archivo esp. de arte y arqueol.*, IX, 1933, p. 15.

1523 reads as follows: "A León pintor, por el alcance que hizo del retablo de San Pedro, 32,542 maravedises."⁸⁸ It might be expected that the reference just quoted would be concerned with a payment for the polychromy of the retablo of St. Peter, since we know that León Picardo painted and gilded it. A problem arises, however, in the interpretation of the words *alcance* and *hizo*. Two authorities in the field of Spanish linguistics of the sixteenth century were consulted: Professor Amado Alonso, Director del Instituto de Filología in Buenos Aires, and Professor Hayward Keniston, Professor of Spanish at the University of Michigan and now senior cultural attaché to the American Embassy at Buenos Aires. They kindly submitted the following translation of the passage: "To León the painter, for the balance due on the account he rendered for the retablo of St. Peter, 32,542 maravedises." According to this rendering, the document would refer to a payment for the polychromy. Professor C. R. Post and Professor D. J. M. Ford of Harvard, however, interpret the word *alcance* to mean "addition," and hence the sentence would read: "To León the painter, for the addition he made to the retablo of St. Peter, 32,542 maravedises."⁸⁹ In this case the payment for an addition could mean a number of things. Most probably, in view of the information we possess about the polychromy, such an addition would be concerned with the painting and gilding of the retablo. The possibility cannot be excluded, nevertheless, that León Picardo made an addition to the architecture or sculpture, since we know that he did practice the arts of sculpture and panel painting. It is impossible under present world conditions to make a thorough investigation of León Picardo's activity as a sculptor and to decide whether he may have had some share in the sculpture of the retablo of St. Peter.⁹⁰

The retablo is, as previously stated, a product of the Vigarni-Siloe partnership in the years 1523-1526, a conclusion imposed by its architectural, ornamental, and figure styles. It consists of three rows of niches occupied by single figures of saints and is in fact a Renaissance version of the Gothic type of retablo, exemplified by Gil de Siloe's retablo of St. Anne in the same chapel. The statues of saints can be divided among various members of the Vigarni-Siloe workshop including Juan de Valmaseda, an interesting provincial artist of Castile. Juan de Valmaseda, working under the direction of Diego de Siloe, seems to be the sculptor of Sts. Sebastian, Christopher, Paul, and James Major. Weise has previously attributed to Valmaseda the first two saints just mentioned, and in his article on the artist he recognized Valmaseda as a follower of Diego de Siloe.⁹¹ There can be little doubt that the statues listed are Valmaseda's work and that he was Siloe's assistant in the altar of St. Anne, previously discussed. A comparison with Valmaseda's Crucifix and Evangelists in León Cathedral (*circa* 1524-1527) will convince the most skeptical of the correctness of these attributions.⁹² A review of known facts about Juan de Valmaseda shows that he was called a "resident of Burgos" in 1516-1518 in the documents concerning the high altar of Oviedo Cathedral, and two documents of 1520 prove that he actually lived in Burgos in that year.

88. Villacampa, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

89. C. R. Post, in volume IX, still unpublished, of his *History of Spanish Painting*, will include a study of León Picardo, particularly as a painter. He will also discuss the problem of the interpretation of this document.

90. Although his career as a sculptor remains unexplored, recently published documents indicate that he did practice that branch of art. The testament of Gutiérrez de Mier dated February 12, 1513, orders León Picardo "a facer ciertas piezas en el banco" of the retablo still preserved at Cervera de Pisuerga (Luciano Huidobro, "León Picardo, pintor y escultor," *Bol. de la Com. de Mon. Art. y His. de Burgos*, 1939, pp. 189-194). The "certain pieces in the predella" must be the statues of polychrome wood representing St. Anne and the Virgin and the reliefs with the donor and his family, generally attributed to the workshop of Vigarni (reproduced in Weise, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 206-244). These sculptures show

León Picardo as a faithful imitator of Vigarni. León Picardo might have worked under Vigarni's direction on the sculpture of the Constable Chapel ten years later in Vigarni's style of that date, and he could have been one of the assistants whose work is under discussion.

91. Weise, *Spanische Plastik*, III, pp. 206-244. A complete bibliography of Valmaseda is to be found in the present writer's article in Thieme-Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon*, XXXIV, 1940.

92. Weise dated the sculpture at León about 1519 rejecting the possibility of a date in the years 1524 and 1527 when Valmaseda is known to have been in León. Weise thought the style incompatible with the later years, failing to see that the influence of Diego de Siloe is very marked in the proportions and in the handling of draperies of the León sculpture and therefore that it is later in date than the Palencia Crucifix of 1519.

The records at León attest his presence in that city in 1524 and 1527.⁹³ This information fits perfectly with his activity as Diego's assistant on the altar of St. Anne (1522) and the altar of St. Peter (1523).

About 1523 Valmaseda may have been the Siloesque assistant who carved the three statues of the Magdalen (Fig. 30), St. Marina, and St. Juliana which were added to Gil de Siloe's late Gothic altar of St. Anne in the Constable Chapel.⁹⁴ Diego's facial types earlier encountered in the Virtues of the Acuña Tomb and in the high altar of the Constable Chapel recur. The designs for all three statues were certainly supplied by him, but whereas the attribution to the hand of Valmaseda previously made by Gómez-Moreno and Weise is acceptable to the present writer, it is not absolutely final.⁹⁵ The extreme length of body and the small heads of the statues are the most convincing reasons for the attribution to Valmaseda, because the same traits appear in his altar of San Ildefonso (*circa* 1525) in Palencia Cathedral,⁹⁶ but those very mannerisms in his independent works are, of course, an exaggeration of the Michelangesque proportions which he derived from Siloe. In fact, they resemble still more closely the giantesses of Ordóñez, yet there can be no possibility of direct connection with the then deceased artist, and the style must have originated with his partner, Diego de Siloe. The quality of the Burgos sculpture which is much superior to that in Palencia and the purely Siloesque heads of the three saints could be explained by the guiding hand of the master, Diego de Siloe.

The Pietà (Fig. 29) in the same altar was assigned by Weise to Diego himself and dated as his earliest work,⁹⁷ an error made because Weise was unaware of Diego's earlier career in Naples and Barcelona. Here the present writer is in full agreement except for the date which should be 1523-1526, when Diego was engaged in the sculpture of the Constable Chapel. The polychromy by León Picardo is identical with that of the high altar in the same chapel, and the two angels belong to the same family as the corbel figures on the predella of the same altar (Fig. 28). An examination of Diego's sculpture throughout his career will disclose repeatedly the characteristics of the angels of the Pietà with their strong bodies and shoulders thrust forward, peculiarities he had in common with his late partner, Ordóñez. The following examples will illustrate these sufficiently: the St. Sebastian of the Caracciolo altar (Fig. 1), the St. Sebastian in Barbadillo de Herreros, the half-nude man of the Bonifacio relief (Fig. 4), the youths of the Barcelona choir-stalls (Fig. 11), the corbel figures of the Constable Altar (Fig. 28), the Decapitation of St. John (Fig. 5) at Valladolid, the Madonna with the Christ Child and the infant St. John (Fig. 7) at Zamora, and the angels on the Puerta del Perdón of Granada Cathedral (1537). Quality too, the decisive factor, speaks eloquently of Diego's own touch. The subtle interplay of the arms throughout the group, the delicate adjustment in the inclination of the heads, and the sensitive feeling expressed cannot be duplicated in the work of any other master active in Burgos in the sixteenth century. At first glance, the frail pathetic Christ might impress one as contrary to Diego's temperament, but the anatomy is understood as only a Renaissance artist knew it, and, moreover, the type resembles the figures of Christ on Diego's altar of St. Anne and the statues of Christ in the upper range of the high altar in the Constable Chapel. The iconography too, in which Christ is supported by angels, is common in Italian painting, but it was undoubtedly known to Diego in Spain likewise, since it occurs there in the Gothic period.⁹⁸ This little group of the Pietà ranks among Diego's best achievements.

93. *Archivo esp. de arte y arqueol.*, VII, 1931, p. 216; IX, 1933, p. 9; Martínez y Sanz, *op. cit.*, p. 209; Martí y Monsó, *op. cit.*, p. 627.

94. The polychromy of these statues only was executed by León Picardo (*Archivo esp. de arte y arqueol.*, IX, 1933, p. 9). The rest of the retablo, which is the work of Gil de Siloe, is considerably earlier in date (*circa* 1500).

See H. E. Wethey, *Gil de Siloe and His School*, Cambridge, 1936, pp. 90-92.

95. Gómez-Moreno, *Renaissance Sculpture in Spain*, p. 38; Weise, *op. cit.*, III, p. 228.

96. Reproduced in Weise, *op. cit.*, III, pls. 315-317.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

98. C. R. Post, *History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge, IV, 1933, p. 306.

A figure very similar in style to the work just discussed and equally high in quality is the tall angel holding an escutcheon on the tomb of Juan de Castro in the parish church of Melgar de Fernamental. It must be dated about 1525, long before the death of the incumbent in 1544, as Weise has suggested. No assistant of the artist ever approached such originality of design in decorative arrangement or such finesse in modeling. The writer is inclined to attribute this lovely angel to Diego de Siloe himself rather than to follow Weise in assigning it to the workshop. The Renaissance angels in the portal of the same church should be dated in the period when the tomb was produced. The style clearly indicates that they were carved by a sculptor of Burgos strongly under the influence of Diego de Siloe and Vigarni. Though spirited in movement and design the angels are decidedly mediocre in technique and not the equal of the other works which Weise attributes to the Master of the Constable High Altar.⁹⁹

We must return to the retablo of St. Peter in the Constable Chapel, which is, as previously stated, a small altar consisting of a predella, two rows of three niches each, and two additional niches on the outer right side. A number of the statues have just been attributed to the Castilian sculptor, Juan de Valmaseda, working under the supervision of Diego de Siloe. Others present a greater problem, since they combine characteristics of both Siloe and Vigarni, suggesting that the two men worked in this case, as well as on the high altar, in very close collaboration. The statues of the two Sts. John, St. Peter¹⁰⁰ and St. Francis, are nearer to Siloe's style than the others. The interplay of St. Francis' arms and hands, the interrelation of shapes in the design of the habit, and the resultant effect of grace suggest that the Italian-trained sculptor at least supplied the drawing for this memorable figure. St. Peter embodies a similar conviction of pose and movement and, in addition, energetic virility. The rustle and movement of the garments are well designed and motivated, although with greater complexity than in Diego's completely independent works. In this respect as well as in physical type, St. Peter is virtually identical with St. Joseph in the Presentation of the high altar in the Constable Chapel.

The statues of St. Dominic and St. Jerome¹⁰¹ are likewise problematical as to authorship but closer to the style of Vigarni. The writer wishes to make it clear that, although the stylistic relations of the retablo of St. Peter offer no problems, the attribution of individual figures to specific artists must remain hypothetical and tentative for the present. The St. Jerome in Penitence has long been well known, and incorrectly attributed to Gaspar Becerra with whom it has not the slightest connection. In fact Becerra was born at Baeza in Andalusia in 1520 and hence was an infant at the time the statue was carved in the Vigarni-Siloe workshop. The same type of wrinkled old man with exaggerated boniness of hands and feet is seen in the St. Jerome of the Lerma Tomb and in other male figures by Vigarni, whether young or old, on the Toledo choir-stalls and in the St. Jerome now under discussion. The modeling of the loin-cloth with its thin fine lines is a method of designing materials typical of Vigarni's works. The rocky setting and its flat leaves and grasses are handled in exactly the same way as the background of the Nativity in the high altar of the Constable Chapel.¹⁰² At this phase of his career Vigarni was greatly stimulated by the art of his younger associate, a fact which is particularly evident in the Lerma Tomb and in the sculpture of the Constable Chapel. In contrast with the high altar of the Capilla Real at Granada (*circa* 1521), his subsequent work lost much of its Gothicism; and he adopted from Diego the Michelangelesque largeness of physique to be noted in the monuments just mentioned and outstandingly in the penitent St. Jerome now under consideration. Vigarni's sculpture throughout his life is uneven in quality, but competition and the inspiration of others

99. *Op. cit.*, pp. 119, 139.

100. *Ibid.*, pls. 199-201; Gómez-Moreno divides the retablo of St. Peter between Diego de Siloe and Vigarni

(*Aguilas del renacimiento esp.*, p. 44).

101. Weise, *op. cit.*, p. 141, pl. 220.

102. *Ibid.*, pl. 206.

brought out the best within him. Only with that consideration in view is it possible to suggest the attribution to him of the St. Jerome in the Constable Chapel. Later at Toledo he rose again to unprecedented heights in a few of the panels of the choir-stalls of the Cathedral, spurred on by the great personality of Alonso Berruguete.

The scope of this article does not embrace a republication of all of the sculpture which Weise grouped under the name of the Master of the Constable High Altar.¹⁰³ Weise arbitrarily rejected the documentation of the high altar in spite of the fact that payments to Siloe and Vigarni are recorded, stating that the sculptors were too busy with other work to have carried out the contract. The commission for the sculpture of the Constable Chapel came from the Velasco family, one of the most powerful in Spain; the sum of 2500 ducats paid for the sculpture was exceptionally large, and it is most unlikely that Siloe and Vigarni would have sublet the contract to someone else. This was, on the contrary, a far more lucrative commission and far more important for the prestige of the two artists than any other work in which they were engaged at the time. Moreover, the sculpture of the Constable Altar is, as the above discussion has shown, the result of collaboration between Siloe, Vigarni, and their assistants, and most certainly was not carved by one single master, as Weise states. Weise's failure to see that Diego de Siloe had a major share in the high altar of the Constable Chapel is to be explained in part by the fact that he did not know of the existence of Diego's work in Naples and Barcelona, and also by the fact that he had not studied or photographed the tomb of Luis de Acuña in Burgos, a monument which is essential to any study of the artist's style.

An interesting example of the fusion of Vigarni's and Siloe's styles in one work is the alabaster relief of the Epiphany in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, recently published by the writer.¹⁰⁴ The original design for the relief must be assigned to Diego de Siloe because the iconography is based on the Caracciolo Epiphany which only he could have known, and in addition the Madonna's head is a Siloe type. Vigarni, however, is the source of the style of drapery, and thus we have in the Boston Epiphany a piece of sculpture from Burgos, contemporary with the activity in the Constable Chapel, which incorporates the personalities of the two leading sculptors as reflected by one of their assistants.

To the Master of the Constable High Altar Weise ascribed the following works: the portal of Casalarreina, the portal of Melgar de Fernamental, the retablo in Sta. Clara at Medina de Pomar, the statue of St. Michael at Sasamón, statues of the Ecce Homo at Dueñas and in the cathedral of Burgos, and the retablo of St. Peter in the Constable Chapel.¹⁰⁵ In connection with the latter, Weise seems to have overlooked the documentary references to it, since he specifically states that the altar of St. Peter is unrecorded in any documents. Weise is to be commended highly for having photographed and published most of these works for the first time, even though it is impossible to agree with all of the conclusions he reached about them. The St. Michael at Sasamón is a lovely figure whose pose and design are in Diego's most familiar manner, but the assistance of an apprentice is indicated by such details as the poorly modeled feet. The statue should be dated about 1525, because the head is almost a replica of the Madonna's in the Constable Presentation.

To the same period belongs a statue of major significance, which Professor Weise is correct in comparing with the figures of Christ in the upper story of the Constable Altar — namely, the Ecce Homo in San Agustín at Dueñas (Fig. 31). The somber Spanish feeling,

103. *Ibid.*, pp. 124 ff.

104. H. E. Wethey, "A Spanish Relief of the Epiphany," *Art Quarterly*, vi, 1943, pp. 53-56. A similar type of shop-work which is a weak reflection of the style of the Constable altar is the retablo and tombs in the chapel of Gómez de Santiago at Santiago de la Puebla (province of Salamanca), which are ascribed by Gómez-

Moreno to Diego de Siloe and Vigarni (*Aguilas del renacimiento esp.*, p. 48). Two new attributions by the same author appear in the photographs to be more acceptable: the Crucifix in Las Huelgas, Burgos, and a relief of the Pietà in a private collection in Madrid (*ibid.*, p. 52).

105. Weise, *op. cit.*, III, pls. 188 ff.

partly to be explained by the subject, is duplicated during Diego's early career in one other work, the small Pietà (Fig. 29). Only he could have modeled the body with such power, and have made it so reminiscent of figures in Naples and Valladolid (Figs. 1, 5). He alone could have handled the pose so skilfully. The position of the legs, the slight suggestion of *contrapposto*, the graceful movement of the left arm across the upper body are superbly managed in a way exactly comparable with Diego's other works such as the San Benito choir-stalls (Figs. 5, 24), the Madonna of San Jerónimo (Fig. 25), and the kneeling angels in the upper part of the Constable Altar. The Renaissance composition of the Ecce Homo is one which he had learned in Italy from attentive study of the art of Leonardo and Raphael. The head of the Christ with the thin Semitic nose is to be found in other of Diego's sculptures: the first in importance being the Pietà (Fig. 29) and the earliest in date the St. Mark in Naples (Fig. 6). The shoulder-length curly hair of male figures, originally derived from Leonardo's followers, turns up again and again in Diego's work from the time of the Caracciolo Altar onward (Figs. 1, 24).¹⁰⁶ The slight inclination of the head forward, so noticeable here, appears in his figures almost as frequently as the backward tilt of the head in the paintings of Perugino. The Ecce Homo at Dueñas is as characteristic as anything he ever produced, graceful in pose but grimly sorrowful in meaning. The related statue of the Ecce Homo in Burgos Cathedral,¹⁰⁷ like the figures of Christ in the upper register of the Constable Altar, should probably be classified with the Siloe workshop.

Weise's other attributions to the Master of the Constable High Altar — the portal of Casalarreina, the portal of Melgar de Fernamental, and the retablo at Medina de Pomar — display stylistic relations to the school of Burgos but they are by no means the production of one sculptor.¹⁰⁸

A short time prior to his transfer to Granada where he signed the agreement on April 20, 1528, to complete the apse and transept of San Jerónimo, Diego accepted a contract on December 2, 1527, to erect the tower of the parish church of Sta. María del Campo, a village near Burgos. Little could have been accomplished before his departure, and in 1531 Juan de Salas, one of Diego's henchmen, fell heir to the job which was nearing completion six years later.¹⁰⁹ The documents furnish evidence that Diego's design was followed throughout in this tower which is square and built in five receding stories, the uppermost of which is far smaller in area than the others and polygonal in shape.¹¹⁰ Here, as well as in the contemporary towers of Italy, the general scheme is traditional and mediaeval. Statues in niches and architectural ornament give it the decorated appearance which the Spanish call Plateresque. The tower of Sta. María del Campo is the least significant of Siloe's architectural designs. Weise's ascription of the sculpture to his workshop carries little weight stylistically, and none historically since we know that the builder of the tower was Juan de Salas.

CONCLUSION

It is impossible in the present article to study Diego's long and illustrious career in Granada. The briefest sketch must suffice. The greatest opportunity of his life came his way when he was invited to submit a model of the new cathedral of Granada in 1528, and his success was assured when his project was accepted on January 21, 1529. The rest of the artist's life, thirty-four years, was devoted largely to this great Andalusian cathedral, but not until the late seventeenth century were the last vaults closed.¹¹¹ Although he became

106. See the head of Christ at the Column in the Constable Altar, and the head of Christ in the upper part of the altar of St. Anne; Weise, *op. cit.*, III, pls. 176, 207.

107. *Ibid.*, pls. 224-225.

108. The author is also very skeptical of Weise's theory that Diego de Siloe's influence is to be detected in some sculpture at Cuenca; Weise, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 17 ff.

109. Luciano Huidobro, *op. cit.*, *Bol. de la Com. de Mon. His.-Art de Burgos*, 1922, pp. 9-15, 103.

110. Reproduced in Weise, *op. cit.*, III, p. 123.

111. The best accounts of the building of the cathedral are given in K. Justi, *Miscellaneen*, Berlin, 1908, II, pp. 243-261, and Gómez-Moreno, the Elder, *Guía de Granada*, Granada, 1892, pp. 254 ff. The façade was designed in the seventeenth century by Alonso Cano.

the father of Andalusian architecture, his personal designs in the field of both domestic and ecclesiastical architecture are yet to be studied in full and distinguished from the works of his numerous pupils and imitators. The attribution to him of the choir of the cathedral of Málaga rests upon the statement of a contemporary translator of Vitruvius, Lázaro de Velasco,¹¹² and is fairly convincing even though Diego's name nowhere appears in the archives at Málaga. The cathedrals of Baeza and Jaén are based upon the type established by Diego in the cathedral of Granada, and the chevet of Guadix Cathedral was designed by him.¹¹³

The sculpture of Diego's later career at Granada has received consideration from only one scholar, Gómez-Moreno, who in his recently published book has made the fullest study to date of these little known works.¹¹⁴ Even the documented portals of Granada Cathedral are unfamiliar to most historians; the sacristy portal with the Madonna, St. Peter and St. Paul (1534), the Puerta de San Jerónimo (1532), the Puerta del Perdón (1537), and the Puerta del Colegio.

During the mature years of his life Diego was frequently called to Seville as consulting architect to inspect and approve the construction of the Sala Capitular of the cathedral.¹¹⁵ In 1535 he journeyed to Toledo where he conferred with Felipe Vigarni and Alonso de Covarrubias, the three men agreeing upon a design to be followed by Vigarni in carving the upper range of the choir-stalls for the cathedral.¹¹⁶ The great sculptor, Alonso Berruguete, attempted to secure Diego de Siloe in 1532 as his representative for the evaluation of the high altar of the church of San Benito in Valladolid, but since the artist was then in Granada, he had to content himself with Andrés de Nájera.¹¹⁷

Historians of the past fifty years have recognized to some degree Diego de Siloe's pre-eminence in the Andalusian school of architecture, although not even in that respect is his full stature generally acknowledged. He stands at the summit during one of Spain's most fertile, most admirable epochs of a notable architectural history. Other great architects of the sixteenth century were Alonso de Covarrubias, Enrique de Egas, Rodrigo Gil de On-tañón, Diego de Riaño, Pedro Machuca, and finally Juan de Herrera, creator of the Escorial and the severely classical style of the latter part of the century.

Ordóñez and Diego de Siloe were the most Italianate of all Spanish Renaissance sculptors in their adherence to classical principles of form and ideal beauty. Ordóñez, stricken by death at the beginning of his career, was more Italian in his art than Spanish. Diego,

112. Sánchez-Cantón, *Fuentes literarias*, Madrid, 1923, I, p. 208.

113. *Monumentos españoles*, Madrid, 1923, p. 305; the most extensive investigations of Siloe's architecture after he settled in Granada are found in Gómez-Moreno's *Aguilas del renacimiento esp.*

114. Gómez-Moreno (*ibid.*) publishes for the first time photographs of the two portals in the main patio of San Jerónimo and the decorative sculptures within the church. He also includes the Siloe documents in the appendix (pp. 196-224). Some of the attributions of the Spanish scholar to the late period of Siloe are highly doubtful: the Ecce Homo in San José, Granada and the bust of St. John the Baptist in the museum of Guadix. The retablo in the church of Santiago in Guadix could not by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as Siloe's own sculpture, even though he was paid in 1544 for "lo que pareciere aver gastado en el retablo" (*ibid.*, p. 93). It is quite evident that Diego in his last years was highly successful and that he directed a large number of works, mostly architecture, as the head of a flourishing atelier.

Few will accept the attribution to Siloe of the tomb of Bishop Mercado in San Miguel at Oñate (*ibid.*, pp. 64-65). It is the work of a weak follower of the master,

and in every respect a mediocre monument. The same is true of the tomb of Alonso de Fonseca in St. Ursula at Salamanca. To be sure, the will of Fonseca, dated December 23, 1531, includes instructions that his tomb be made according to the design already prepared by Diego de Siloe (*ibid.*, p. 64). It may be that the general plan of the monument follows that sketch but the sculpture shows no hint of Siloe's personal style nor of that of his school.

A complete bibliography of Diego de Siloe is found in the writer's article in Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, XXX, 1936.

115. Llaguno y Amírola, *Noticias de los arquitectos de España*, Madrid, 1829, p. 203; Gestoso y Pérez, *Sevilla monumental*, Seville, 1890, II, p. 382. Gómez-Moreno's attempt to make Diego de Siloe the architect of the Sacristía Mayor of Seville Cathedral (*ibid.*, p. 89) will not gain many supporters, for it flaunts the ample documentation of the work to Diego de Riaño and Martín Gáinza (Gestoso y Pérez, *Sevilla monumental*, Seville, 1890, II, pp. 401-405).

116. Zarco del Valle, *Documentos de la cat. de Toledo*, Madrid, 1916, I, p. 200.

117. Martí y Monsó, *Estudios art.-his.*, Valladolid, 1898-1901, pp. 138-141.

whose style at the beginning is scarcely distinguishable from his partner's, never entirely abandoned Renaissance composition and design nor the search for beauty of body, which is the very soul of the Renaissance. Diego, nevertheless, imbued his figures with melancholy, which can, to be sure, be paralleled in the works of Donatello a century earlier, but which is none the less to be regarded as an expression of the deeply religious and congenitally sad temperament of the Spaniard. Alonso Berruguete, the greatest of all Spanish sculptors, underwent the same Italian training as Ordóñez and Siloe. Yet he threw Renaissance idealism to the winds after his return to Spain in 1518 and developed a highly emotional expressionism which is spiritually akin to the art of El Greco.

The sculptors, Diego de Siloe and Bartolomé Ordóñez, must have served a long apprenticeship in Florentine workshops before they ventured upon their profession independently at Naples about 1516. They had learned the technique of Florentine low relief as both their joint and separate works reveal. Their admiration of Leonardo was at its height at the time the Caracciolo Altar was in process. Very shortly, by 1518, Michelangelo's Sistine vault and his early sculpture swept all before them, and the two young Spaniards, like nearly all other artists of the day, fell under his sway. Although both Ordóñez and Siloe reacted similarly, Ordóñez adopted a more exaggerated type of bulky physique, especially in female figures, than did Diego de Siloe. The heroic Michelangelesque body is especially notable in Diego's first years at Burgos, in the Acuña and Santander Tombs and in details of the *Escalera Dorada*. Thereafter he modified his standard of beauty slightly in the direction of more normal proportions for the human figure. Another effect of the Spanish environment on Diego's art was his use of polychrome wood, the traditional Spanish Gothic medium, in such works as the retables of the Constable Chapel and the Ecce Homo at Dueñas. His style in the Constable Chapel was somewhat modified by Flemish and other Northern influences which he received through association with Felipe Vigarni. Gothic and Flemish influences likewise unite, and very subtly, in the small alabaster relief of the Madonna and Child in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. These were, however, passing phases, and Diego's sculpture remained throughout his life the model of Renaissance idealism, essentially as he had learned it in Italy.

Sculpturally speaking, Naples played no appreciable part in the formation of either Siloe or Ordóñez. It is a moot question whether similarities between the ornament of Diego's works in Burgos and monuments in Naples like the tomb of Baldassare Ricci in San Pietro ad Aram should be regarded as specific or circumstantial.¹¹⁸ The influence of the Spanish sculptors upon the Neapolitan school of the Cinquecento, then in its earliest stages, cannot be ruled out.

Both Siloe and Ordóñez must have traveled in northern Italy. The latter set up a workshop at Carrara and so came into contact with many artists, Lombard and Genoese, as well as Florentine, Roman, and Neapolitan. The medallions with profile heads which Diego employed in the designs of the *Escalera Dorada* and the choir-stalls of San Jerónimo, Granada, were, of course, particularly favored in north Italian architecture. Bramante in his Roman phase was, however, the source of the plan of the *Escalera Dorada*, as we have seen. Yet Diego's architecture in Burgos took on a Spanish complexion, and his architecture must be classified as Plateresque because of its characteristically Spanish lavishness in the use of ornament. It is not, in the writer's opinion, a question of north Italian precedent in the work of Diego and other Spanish architects but a native Gothic and Mudéjar undercurrent which explains their fondness for surface ornament. The tower of Sta. María del Campo, designed by Diego, with its square stories crowned by a polygonal structure, is not fundamentally unlike the tower of San Biagio at Montepulciano by Antonio da San Gallo.

118. By Giovanni Jacopo da Napoli in 1518-1519; mentioned in Venturi, *op. cit.*, x, p. 771.

The latter belongs, however, to the Italian High Renaissance because of its severely architectural design and classical simplicity, whereas the Spanish tower has a surface application of architectural ornament and sculpture which gives it the character of Spanish Plateresque architecture. The same holds true for the buildings of Andalusia which were erected by Diego de Siloe and by his numerous followers. It is, in truth, in the field of architecture that Diego clung most closely to Spanish tradition. The cathedral of Granada remains Gothic in its structural features and in its vaulting, and becomes Renaissance only in the architectural and sculptural decoration including the classical orders of the great compound piers. Here he used a large entablature block above the capitals, an idea of which the germ lies in late Roman buildings like Diocletian's palace at Spalato and in Brunelleschi's Florentine churches, San Lorenzo and Sto. Spirito.

Granada Cathedral established the type of church for all Andalusia in the sixteenth century. It would be difficult to exaggerate its splendor or the widespread influence it had as prototype for the cathedrals of Málaga and Jaén and numerous smaller churches. The Granadine school casts its shadows still farther afield and into the new world, where the great cathedrals of Cuzco and Lima in Peru were built in the late sixteenth century in a style indubitably related to the cathedral of Granada. The finest Plateresque façade of the Spanish colonies, that of the cathedral of Sto. Domingo on the island of Hispaniola, shows ample evidence of its Granadine and Siloesque parentage.¹¹⁹

The esteem in which Diego de Siloe was held by his contemporaries can be judged by the praise bestowed upon him in various treatises on the arts. Cristóbal de Villalón, in his essay entitled *Ingeniosa comparación entre lo antiguo y lo presente* (1539), cites Siloe and Vigarni as sculptors with whom neither Phidias nor Praxiteles could compare in greatness! Francisco de Hollanda's *Diálogos de la Pintura* (1548) includes Diego in its list of ten famous sculptors and mentions his skill in ornament. The other artists in this curious list are Michelangelo, Baccio Bandinelli, Simone il Mosca, Donatello, Nino Pisano, Giovanni da Nola, Pace Gaggini, Pietro Torrigiano, and also Ordóñez, cited for ability in relief. For all his friendship with Michelangelo, who is the chief interlocutor in the dialogue, Francisco de Hollanda was neither a good critic of the arts nor even well informed about the great Italians of his day. Otherwise he would never have included minor men like Simone il Mosca and Pace Gaggini to the exclusion of such an important contemporary as Jacopo Sansovino as well as many a great artist of the past. Alonso Berruguete, the other famous Castilian sculptor besides Siloe and Ordóñez, is listed among the painters.

Lázaro de Velasco, the translator of Vitruvius (*circa* 1550-1565), who has been previously mentioned, speaks with high praise of Diego de Siloe, sculptor and architect, and states that "he brought good architecture to Andalusia." Siloe and Alonso de Covarrubias are credited with bringing to Spain the art of Bramante, Peruzzi, and Alberti in Juan de Arfe's *De varia commensuración para la escultura y arquitectura* (1585). Even later, forty years after his death, Fray José de Sigüenza's *Historia de la orden de San Jerónimo* (1600-1605) contains a eulogy of Diego rating him the best architect of his time and mentioning as his works the apse of San Jerónimo and the cathedral of Granada.¹²⁰

The judgment of the modern critic will be more sober and measured than that of Diego de Siloe's contemporaries. Diego's position as the creator of Renaissance architecture in Andalusia has never been challenged, and their opinions still hold true in principle, even if they are somewhat naïve in statement. All of these men except Fray José de Sigüenza thought of Diego's sculpture as equal in importance to his architecture. It was in that branch of art that he began and to which he devoted the greater part of his energy during the early

119. Reproduced in Lozoya, *Historia del arte hispánico*, Barcelona, 1940, pp. 48 ff.

120. All of the treatises cited are published in Sánchez-Cantón, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 120, 208, 278, 340.

phases of his career in Naples and in Burgos. Cristóbal de Villalón, in the fashion of his day, invokes the names of ancient Greeks and would, as we have seen, have us believe that both Siloe and Vigarni outshone Phidias and Praxiteles! No one today will go back to the Greeks to establish standards of excellence, much less hold that Cristóbal's heroes were as great figures as they. Yet Ordóñez and Diego de Siloe stand with Alonso Berruguete in the front rank among Spanish sculptors of the Renaissance. Ordóñez, generally much better known as a sculptor than Siloe, was certainly the more mature artist and the leading spirit of their partnership. Nevertheless, his late works, so numerous and so hurriedly turned out with the aid of so many assistants, declined in individuality. Diego was admittedly uneven at times during his youth in Burgos, but he rose to a very high level in works of such beauty of form and of such expressive meaning as the St. John the Baptist in Valladolid (Fig. 24), the Madonna in Granada (Fig. 25), and the St. Sebastian of Barbadillo de Herreros. Ordóñez never equalled the excellence of these, nor did any other Spaniard of the Renaissance except Alonso Berruguete. An estimate of the numerous sculptures of Diego's later career must be postponed until a complete monograph on the artist is forthcoming. It may be that his sculpture will eventually regain the fame it enjoyed during the artist's lifetime and stand on an equal footing with his architecture, challenging the renown of his accepted masterpieces, the *Escalera Dorada* and the cathedral of Granada.

NOTES ON THE SCULPTURE OF THE CHURCH OF AKHTHAMAR

BY ARMENAG SAKISIAN

I

FORTUNATE in its isolation the Church of *Sourp Khatch* (Holy Cross) on the Island of Akhthamar has stood since the beginning of the tenth century, its storied stone façades largely unharmed by man or time. An extensive and grand iconography, sacred and profane, adorns its outer walls and this remarkable artistic flowering, in a region which lies between Byzantium, Syria, and Iran, is earlier than the Romanesque sculpture of the West.¹ No such decoration was possible in Byzantine architecture, for there the outer walls of the buildings were of brick, whereas the Armenians used blocks of cut stone. In Syria, where the materials are like those used on the Armenian plateau, no sculptured figures remain comparable with those of Akhthamar; among the Moslems of the Abbassid Empire it is even less possible to find carving which might have inspired the sculptors of the island church.

Kakig, the founder of the church, was the head of the great feudal house of the Ardzrunis whose domain was Vasburagan.² Already, towards the middle of the ninth century that territory was being treated as an independent state by the Arabs as well as by the Byzantines, although officially there was only one prince in Armenia, a Bagratid.³ In 908 Kakig received the royal crown from the caliph of Bagdad, and in 915, after building his palace, he began the construction of the church which he finished in 921. Like most Armenian edifices it is entirely unlike the Arabian buildings which were made of wood⁴ and on which the representation of all animate life was forbidden.

This cruciform church, built of red stone,⁵ is small.⁶ Lynch compares it to the work of a jeweller. It is elegant in its proportions, with a high dome, the rich decoration frequently relieved by plain surfaces. The contemporary historian Thoma Ardzruni says of its construction: "And as Manuel, aspiring still higher, was a master of his art, a man full of wisdom and powerful in his works, he has fashioned a church in a marvellous manner and with admirable art, and the before mentioned monk *has lent his aid* in covering the stones with figures."⁷ A description of the sculpture follows. M. Brosset stresses the fact that Ardzruni's reference to Manuel relates to a passage where he discusses, without naming him,⁸ the architect of Kakig's palace. We may conclude that Manuel was the architect of both the church and the earlier palace. Further, if we accept Ardzruni's statement, the sculptor was a monk and is not to be confused with the architect Manuel.⁹

The editors wish to thank Margaret Farrand Thorp for translating this article from the French.

1. Ugo Monneret de Villard, in a contribution to *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, Cambridge (Mass.), and London, 1939, on the origin of the sculptured portal, stresses the fact that the Romanesque portal came into being in Armenia at least a century before its appearance in Europe (pp. 118-120).

2. "Les Ardzrounis commandaient dans le pays limité au sud par le grand Zab (affluent du Tigre), au nord par l'Araxe vers Nakhitchévan, à l'ouest et à l'est par les lacs de Van et d'Ourmiah: c'était le Vaspouragan" (J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886*, Paris, 1919, p. 83).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

4. See A. Sakisian, *Pages d'art arménien*, Paris, 1940, p. 60.

5. For polychrome in Armenian art, see *ibid.*, p. 63 and note 4.

6. Its length is 15.40 m.; its width 12.60 m.; and its height about 20 m. Y. Lalayan, "The Convent of the Holy Cross at Akhthamar" (in Armenian), *Revue ethnographique*, 1910, No. 20, Tiflis, p. 208. I shall refer frequently to this detailed description made on the spot by the learned ethnographer.

7. Thoma Ardzruni, *History of the House of Ardzruni* (in Armenian), Constantinople, 1852, p. 334.

8. M. Brosset, translation of T. Ardzruni, *History of the Ardzrunis*, in *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, St. Petersburg, 1874, p. 240, note 1. See below, note 74.

9. There is no previous mention in Thoma Ardzruni of a monk or of a sculptor but we should have to violate the text to see in the architect and the sculptor one and

The sculpture consists chiefly of Biblical themes such as Adam and Eve, the Sacrifice of Abraham, Goliath, and Samson, together with images of saints. It surrounds the walls of the church like a girdle several meters above the ground, thus making a pleasant contrast with the surface left bare below.¹⁰ Charles Diehl mentions a hypothesis according to which the carvings were originally painted and gilded¹¹ but this seems improbable when one remembers that the contemporary Thoma Ardzruni, who describes the church in detail, makes no allusion to color. A veritable bestiary of animals, real or fantastic, alternates with the religious subjects, the juxtaposed figures being completely independent of one another. This vivid repertory is particularly valuable because of the rarity of Armenian illuminated manuscripts as old as the tenth century. Higher up, above a series of animal heads in high relief, is a frieze of vines, clusters of grapes, and vinedressers, interspersed with wild beasts (Fig. 1). Processions of animals under the eaves of the church and of the dome, a large statue on the west wall of King Kakig as donor facing a standing Christ, and statues of the evangelists, life-size, one under the gable of each of the four façades, also decorate the exterior of the church.¹² In the interior six protomes, one of them a tiger, one an elephant,¹³ adorn the king's gallery.¹⁴

This Church of Akhthamar, whose sculptured decoration makes it remarkable in Armenian architecture, is in fact unique of its kind. Its situation on an island not easily accessible undoubtedly accounts for the fact that it has been preserved to us.¹⁵ We know, however, that figure sculpture, even statuary, was practiced in Armenia. The small number of known examples, especially of statues,¹⁶ may be explained by the independent Moslem dominations and settlement succeeding the Arab rule.¹⁷ Several vestiges remain, however, of exterior religious sculpture much older than Akhthamar, with figures of donors, but without the animal decoration.

The early seventh-century church of Mren (630–640) has a large sculptured surface above the west door. In the lower register are Christ, two apostles, and two donors of the princely family of the Gamsaragans, all standing. Above, two winged angels descending to earth fill the lunette whose arch is decorated with leaves and bunches of grapes. This important group of sculptures with its combination of religious, secular, and decorative subjects is a forerunner of Akhthamar.¹⁸

The segmented arch which carries the architrave above a bay in the church of Bdghni, some two centuries older (440–450), associates religious subjects with secular scenes. Seven medallions with figures of Christ and the apostles are chiseled on the arch while on the horizontal sections of the architrave the founder of the church, Manuel, Lord of the Amadunis, hunts the lion on horse and on foot.¹⁹ He is not represented, like King Kakig of Akhthamar, as the donor presenting a model of the sanctuary like "a golden coffer filled

the same person who would be a religious and would bear the name of Manuel. See also p. 352.

10. For excellent illustrations of the sculptural decoration of the church the reader is referred to W. Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan*, Leipzig, 1913, pls. 32–40; cf. pp. 40–47. See also J. Strzygowski, *L'ancien art chrétien de Syrie*, Paris, 1936, fig. 90.

11. C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1925, I, p. 474.

12. J. Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, figs. 90 and 92; Bachmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 33–36; for King Kakig see pl. 39.

13. Y. Lalayan, *op. cit.*, p. 200, pl. 6; W. Bachmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 32.

14. Mural paintings in oil of New Testament subjects and apparently of great age adorn the vault of the royal gallery and the interior of the church (Y. Lalayan, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201, pl. 6).

15. J. Strzygowski has expressed a fear that the sculp-

tures of Akhthamar may have been destroyed. Correspondence published in the Armenian paper *Haratch*, September 5, 1936, makes it clear that access to the islands in Lake Van has been forbidden but that the churches are intact.

16. The excavations at Ani have brought to light a statue of Kakig I, (989–1020): J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, Vienna, 1918, figs. 471 and 603; K. J. Basmadjian, *The Masters of Ancient Armenian Art* (in Armenian), 1926, fig. 9.

17. For the character of the Arab domination see A. Sakisian, *Pages d'art arménien*, pp. 59–60.

18. See A. Tchobanian, *La roseraie d'Arménie*, Paris, 1929, III, pp. 3 and 272 (note 19).

19. For a reproduction see J. Baltrusaitis, *Études sur l'art médiéval en Géorgie et en Arménie*, Paris, 1929, pl. LXXX, fig. 133; also A. Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 137 and 280 (note 94).

with perfume,"²⁰ but as a feudal lord occupied with his favorite sport. Two angels placed horizontally hold the medallion of Christ. They are Christian descendants of the ancient victories. We find them again in Sassanid art in Tak-i-Bostan,²¹ and in Persian miniature-painting beginning with the Mongol period.²² These few precursors do not, however, explain the miracle of Akhthamar.

The practice of decoration with monumental images, with statues of donors, and with animal subjects, of which Akhthamar is the supreme example, continued. We might mention, for instance, in the second half of the eleventh century, at Sanahin, the Library of Queen Hranush (1063), with capitals formed of interlaced serpents,²³ and, at Haghpad, the portraits in high relief of the kings Smpad and Kurken, holding in their hands the model of their church.²⁴ On an early thirteenth-century church there are large-scale figures of the apostles Peter and Paul,²⁵ and on a chapel of 1263 an imposing eagle with a ram in its talons.²⁶ A church of 1273 is adorned with such subjects as a falcon tearing its prey, the projecting head of an ox, a bull attacked by a lion.²⁷ In the next century a convent built in 1321 is ornamented with portraits of the founders and a hunting scene, and with images of the Virgin and the Pantocrator.²⁸ This sculptural tradition was continued to the beginning of the nineteenth century where it appears in the Convent of St. Thaddeus, south of the Araxes, in Karadagh.²⁹

The sculpture of Akhthamar is remarkable for its relief and its realism as well as for its monumental character. The figure of King Kakig, holding his church³⁰ like "a golden amphora filled with manna," is 1.25 meters in height; the portraits of the evangelists are life-size; Adam and Eve measure 1.50 meters, and Goliath, 2 meters.³¹ Not only are these figures in relief; the protomes are in full relief and project about a half meter.³² Their great shadows may be seen in Figure 1 and even better in views of the whole church.³³ The naturalism in the rendering of the vegetation, the grapevine, for example, and the realism in the depiction of the animals are striking. On the other hand the frieze beneath the storied zone is stylized, and conventionalized half-leaves (*roumi*)³⁴ ornament the window arches (Fig. 2). The acanthus decoration of one of the niches is reproduced by Marr.³⁵ The same motif occurs in the illumination of Armenian gospels of the tenth century.³⁶ The openings in the drum are surmounted by arches ornamented with flowers and partridges,³⁷ according to Y. Lalayan's minute description, but unfortunately it is impossible to distinguish them in the photographs.

Finally the characteristic use of animals,³⁸ which continues even to a late period in Armenian decoration, is strikingly in evidence here. In perhaps no other country in the world is there an edifice ornamented with a fauna so varied and so abundant, to say nothing of the fantastic beasts. The walls, particularly under the eaves, are covered with animals

20. Thoma Ardzruni, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

21. F. Sarre, *L'art de la Perse ancienne*, tr. P. Budry, Paris, n.d., pl. 91.

22. The oldest example I know is 1334. F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, London, 1912, II, pl. 15.

23. J. Harouthiounian, "Sanahin," *Revue ethnographique*, 1898, No. 3, Tiflis, pp. 299-300, and A. Sakisian, *op. cit.*, fig. 34.

24. K. J. Basmadjian, *op. cit.*, fig. 8.

25. Mgr. K. Hovsephian, *The Khaghpaguians or Broshians* (in Armenian), Vagharshabad, 1928, p. 63, fig. 35.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 133, fig. 51. Interlaced ornaments predominate in the decoration of the façade but a lion and an ox are sculptured there also (*ibid.*, fig. 12).

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 115-123. In fig. 46, which shows the church, it is not possible to distinguish the animal decoration.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 205, figs. 95-100.

29. Y. Frankian, *Adrbadagan* (in Armenian), Tiflis, 1905, pp. 29, 30.

30. Y. Lalayan, *op. cit.*, pls. 1 and 3; W. Bachmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 39; J. Strzygowski, *L'ancien art chrétien de Syrie*, fig. 90.

31. Y. Lalayan, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201, 205-206.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

33. J. Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, figs. 90, 92.

34. See A. Sakisian, *Pages d'art arménien*, p. 11, and "La reliure turque du XV^e au XIX^e siècle," *Revue de l'art*, LI, 1927, pp. 279-280 and fig. 4.

35. N. J. Marr, *Ani* (in Russian), Leningrad, Moscow, 1934, pl. XII, 39.

36. See A. Sakisian, *Pages d'art arménien*, p. 73.

37. Y. Lalayan, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

38. For manuscript illumination see A. Sakisian, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-66.

of which the following is a careful though incomplete list: lion, tiger, bear, elephant,³⁹ eagle, pigeon, dog, hare, roebuck, panther, stag, hind, bull, sheep, duck, kid, leopard, rabbit, falcon, wolf, ram, horse, mule, ass, camel, turkey, peacock, pheasant, partridge. The Gospel of King Kakig of Kars, the gem of eleventh-century Armenian illumination, compares perhaps with Akhthamar in the variety and the fantasy of its animal decoration, although it is limited to birds and the heads of ruminant beasts which are used instead of floral ornaments on the initials.⁴⁰

The sculptured fauna of the church is almost entirely local, and the direct observation which this implies is further emphasized by the introduction of picturesque or familiar scenes such as a dog pursuing a roebuck, two pigeons pecking each other, a lamb stretching its nose toward a bunch of grapes, a bear cub sucking, a fox eating grapes, a buffalo giving suck to her calf, and two cocks fighting.⁴¹ The spirit is entirely realistic; there is no suggestion of symbolism.

II

Various opinions have been expressed concerning the sources and relationships of these remarkable examples of iconography and decorative art. H. Layard, who visited the Island of Akhthamar in the middle of the last century, finds an Assyrian character in the frieze of animals under the eaves and compares it to the embossed designs on bronze dishes which he discovered at Nimrud in the region of Nineveh (Mosul).⁴² Lynch, in his excellent description of the church, shares this point of view and adds that the bull heads on the throne of Nimrud are almost exactly duplicated in the projecting heads of the façade of Akhthamar.⁴³ J. Baltrusaitis sees a connection between the sculpture on Armenian monuments and representations on Sumerian seals and cylinder-seals.⁴⁴ For J. Strzygowski, Akhthamar, whose sculpture he describes as "without relief," is a proof of the preponderance of the Mazdean doctrine in Persian Christianity. He regards the rinceaux of vines and pomegranates as symbols of *Hvarenah*, divine majesty and power.⁴⁵ The decoration seems to him partly Iranian, partly Jewish-Christian or Semitic-Christian. To support the latter claim he recalls the Jewish origin ascribed to the Bagratid dynasty.⁴⁶ J. Orbely thinks that "par toutes les formes de son décor sculptural Akhthamar ne saurait être séparé de l'art sassanide." He seeks to synchronize the moment of creation of this "étonnant monument architectural" on the western boundaries of the ancient Sassanid empire with that moment when in the Khorassan "le grand Ferdowsi cisèle ses vers, où apparaît à chaque mot son penchant pour le maintien de l'idéologie de l'Iran sassanide, même dans le domaine où il est gêné par le cadre de l'Islam."⁴⁷ Mgr. K. Hovsephian, in his turn, invokes the Irano-Sassanid and Mesopotamian traditions.⁴⁸ J. Laurent leads us in the opposite direction, towards Byzantium. He says that the animal decoration of the Palace of Akhthamar — ranks of lions and other wild beasts, flocks of birds — is repeated in the neighboring church, and

39. Other examples in Armenian decoration of the elephant, which derives of course from Sassanid art, may be found on a carpet in the portrait of Kakig of Kars in a miniature of the middle of the eleventh century; and in sculpture, on the wooden door of 1135 of the Arakelotz Convent in Mush. See A. Sakisian, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 53-54, fig. 30.

40. A. Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, III, chiefly the plates facing pp. 26, 36, 200, and the figures on pp. ix, 124, 126, 149, 159, 171, 173, 175, 179, 200, 201, 277, 285, 287; A. Sakisian, *Pages d'art arménien*, p. 66, fig. 50, and p. 60, note 3 for the date of the manuscript.

41. Y. Lalayan, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

42. A. H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1853, pp. 413-414.

43. H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia, Travels and Studies*,

London and New York, 1901, II, pp. 132-133; Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

44. J. Baltrusaitis, *Art sumérien, art roman*, Paris, 1934, Ch. 6.

45. See A. Sakisian, *Le paysage dans la miniature persane*, Syria, 1938, pp. 284-286.

46. J. Strzygowski, *L'ancien art chrétien de Syrie*, Paris, 1936, pp. 75, 151, 152.

47. *Firdowsi, 934-1934* (in Russian), edition of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Leningrad, 1934; for Orbely's remarks see the review by B. Nikitine, *Journal asiatique*, CCXXVIII, 1936, p. 163. Nevertheless Orbely does not see any symbolic meaning in the frieze of vines, as he had occasion to state at the Congress of Persian Art in London in 1931.

48. Mgr. K. Hovsephian, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

adds: "C'est à peu près la même décoration que celle du palais de Basile I [867-886] à Constantinople. Évidemment les Arméniens étaient allés chercher dans cette ville, avec leurs plus belles icônes, les modèles de leurs peintures et de leurs mosaïques."⁴⁹

To the possibility of Assyrian and Babylonian influences there is a primary objection. Those civilizations were dead and forgotten, separated by thousands of years from tenth-century Armenia, and their remains were certainly unknown to the carvers of Akhthamar. Yet J. Baltrusaitis thinks that those carvers "revived their artistic past." Following the same line of thought Strzygowski makes Dürer, drawing his landscapes, obey the "secret impulses of his Nordic origin."⁵⁰ Now the Aryans of the East are, too, he thinks, endowed by nature with a share of the Nordic soul. This is a seductive thesis, perhaps, but scarcely substantial enough to fill lacunae of several centuries in the history of art.⁵¹

The decoration of the bronze dishes discovered by Layard in the region of Nineveh⁵² is quite different from the animal frieze of Akhthamar. If we consider the "very beautiful specimen" with five concentric bands of stags, hinds, lions, and hares,⁵³ it is evident in the first place that the lions, elongated and elegant, without manes, bear no likeness in linear design to the lions represented at Akhthamar (Figs. 1 and 2). The same thing is true of the stags. It is their arrangement in a file which suggested the correspondence to Layard's mind, but in the arrangement also the difference is great: at Nimrud each row consists of identically similar beasts (and this is true on the other dishes of this series); at Akhthamar the animals are different or in different positions; moreover they are interspersed with other figures with which they make up the frieze.⁵⁴ We have simply, then, an animal decoration with no similarity, either in type or in disposition, sufficient to justify a derivation. As for the evidence brought forward by Lynch in support of the thesis of his illustrious predecessor, the indistinct reproduction in his book of the east façade⁵⁵ does not permit us to verify it precisely but it should be remembered also that in realistic art the identity of models may engender similarities.

Contrary to Strzygowski's statement, the sculptures of Akhthamar are in relief, and even the animal heads, in the interior as on the exterior of the church, project, as we have seen, as much as fifty centimeters. Layard speaks of heads in high relief; Lynch employs the expressions "deeply chiseled stone" and "emphasized relief"; and Lalayan uses the term high relief (*partzrakantag*). This characteristic is particularly important because it distinguishes Akhthamar from Mschatta, whose decoration appears in other respects Hellenistic, its chief oriental characteristic being the absence of relief.

The Mazdean relationship is suggested to Strzygowski by the fact that the grapevine frieze symbolizes to his mind the *Hvarenah*. But the frieze is composed not of vine leaves but of vine stocks (Fig. 1). The contemporary historian Thoma Ardzruni says that "the church is surrounded with a glorious frieze, divided into compartments and composed of vines loaded with grapes, and of vinedressers, deer and reptiles."⁵⁶ He makes no allusion to any allegorical meaning and, speaking of Vostan, the city which faces Akhthamar, on the south shore of Lake Van, he mentions the "numerous vineyards" which adorn it.⁵⁷ In our own day the vineyards of the village of Avantz, on the east shore of the lake, which serves

49. J. Laurent, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

50. J. Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

51. Steles carved with human figures of the fifth and sixth centuries, which have not yet been made the object of a study, may throw new light on the evolution of sculpture in Armenia. J. Baltrusaitis has published examples of steles after photographs of Thoramanian. See *Études sur l'art médiéval en Géorgie et en Arménie*, pls. LXX, LXXXI; fig. 116 on pl. LXX showing the stele of Adiaman is particularly interesting.

52. A. H. Layard, *A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh*, London, 1853, pls. 56-61.

53. *Ibid.*, pl. 61 A.

54. In the region of Lake Van itself fragments of bronze have been found decorated according to a formula identical with that of the plate in Layard's pl. 61 A, but with the lions standing on their hind feet, their mouths opened, and their tails erect. P. Müller-Simonis, *Du Caucase au Golfe Persique à travers l'Arménie, le Kurdistan et le Mésopotamie*, Strassburg, 1892, pp. 193-194, and the plates opposite.

55. Lynch, *op. cit.*, fig. 141.

56. Thoma Ardzruni, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 327.

as a port for Akhthamar and for Van, were the most beautiful in the region, while those of a suburb of Van, which extends down towards the lake, won for it the name of *Aykestan*, which is to say the vineyards.⁵⁸ We are surely right in supposing that the sculptors of the church were inspired by the landscape which they had before their eyes rather than by Mazdean conceptions. The last excavations of Shapur, moreover, do not suggest the existence of representations of landscape in the temples of fire.⁵⁹

The realistic character of the frieze is accentuated by the portrait of King Kakig,⁶⁰ set in the middle of the east façade, to which I shall return later (Fig. 1).

Is the cycle of biblical iconography on the walls simply a catalogue of primitive Christian art, or, as Strzygowski thinks, is it Jewish-Christian or Semitic-Christian? I will confine myself to observing that the argument drawn from the Jewish origin of the Bagratids is without weight. Besides, that origin is only a legend.⁶¹ Kakig of Akhthamar was an Ardžruni who has been confused with his Bagratid namesakes of Ani and Kars.

Finally the correspondence suggested by J. Orbely between the striking monument of Akhthamar, erected in the first quarter of the tenth century by an Armenian architect, and the epic of Firdowsi who, at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century,⁶² sang of Sassanid history under the patronage of a Turkish prince, seems pure hypothesis. The two works of art are entirely separate, not only in space and time but in the impulses which gave them birth: on the one hand a feudal affirmation of Armenian nationalism; on the other the glorification, in the Moslem epoch, of an Iranian and Mazdean past.

III

The palace of King Kakig, unlike his church, we know only from the description given of it by Thoma Ardžruni;⁶³ likewise it is through the written word alone that we know the mosaics of the palace of Basil the Macedonian or, more accurately, the Armenian. J. Laurent, who thinks very plausibly that the animal decoration of the church of Kakig was identical with that of his palace, extends this likeness to the mosaics in the residences of Basil I, described by his grandson Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which might have served as a model for Akhthamar. Though the mention, in general terms, of "columns . . . carved with vine branches among which animals of every kind disport themselves"⁶⁴ does not lead to any very precise conclusion, Thoma Ardžruni enumerates scenes of a markedly oriental character which were painted on the walls of the palace of Akhthamar and were not found in the imperial residences of Constantinople. The king's throne, for example, ornamented with gold, "was surrounded with shining youths, servitors of joy, and with them groups of female singers and young girls dancing, worthy of admiration."⁶⁵ In this passage the "shining youths, servitors of joy," must allude to the cupbearers. These fêtes, in which wine flowed and professional singers sang, are mentioned in connection with the kings and the great of Armenia. Prostitutes, musicians, and buffoons all took part,⁶⁶ in the fourth century, in these Bacchic revels which carried over from customs of pagan Armenia. In Persian miniatures we find analogous scenes beginning with the fifteenth century.

One might remark at this point that in opposition to the tendency to explain all the artistic manifestations of Armenia by foreign influences (as in the case of Akhthamar), F.

58. Raffi, *Gaidzer* (in Armenian), Vienna, 1904, II, pp. 7, 10, 132.

59. R. Ghirshman, "Les fouilles de Châpour (Iran). Deuxième campagne 1936-37," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, XII, 1938, pp. 12-19.

60. Y. Lalayan, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

61. N. Adontz, "The Glory of the Bagratids" (in Armenian), *Hayrenik*, March, 1929, pp. 153-154.

62. H. Massé, *Firdousi et l'épopée nationale*, Paris,

1935, pp. 56, 59: the *Book of the Kings* begun about 975 was finished in 1010.

63. M. Brosset, *op. cit.*, Bk. III, prg. 36, p. 238.

64. Charles Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 2nd ed., I, p. 413.

65. Thoma Ardžruni, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

66. Faustus de Byzance, *Histoire d'Arménie*, Venice, 1933, III, Chap. 19, p. 58; Moïse de Khorène, *Histoire d'Arménie*, Venice, 1843, Bk. III, Chap. 19, p. 204.

Sarre goes back in this country itself to prehistoric times. In his study of oriental rugs he presents striking analogies between the art of the last Caucasian age of bronze and the stylized figures of animals in Armenian illumination at the end of the Middle Ages.⁶⁷ For my own part I have been astonished to find on belts of the Bronze Age, discovered in tombs in the eastern Armenian plateau,⁶⁸ a motif in the form of an S, characteristic of Armenian art, which appears frequently in illumination, sculpture, rugs, and embroidery,⁶⁹ and, notably, as the frame of a window in the cathedral of Ani at the end of the tenth century.⁷⁰ This is still more remarkable because the decorative use of these S's as a frame or border on the belts is precisely like their use in Armenia of the Middle Ages and even of our own time.

But to return to Kakig Ardzruni, one may deliberately speak of the power of the royal will⁷¹ in discussing his building. This great feudal lord, fighting in turn against the representative of the Caliph, the Bagratids, and the Arab emirs,⁷² succeeded, by might of arms or by diplomacy, in maintaining the independence of his fief and even in having himself awarded a royal crown by the Caliph of Bagdad in 908.⁷³ The erection of his church between 915 and 921, like the erection just before of his palace, followed his elevation to the royal dignity. The historian of the Ardzrunis gives the following information on the construction of the residence of Kakig in the city of Akhthamar, his capital: "At the royal door gathered native artists of all crafts, men worthy of respect, who never failed to execute the king's design and accomplished the work immediately in accordance with his order. One of them, an architect, a man of learning and of talent, the king commanded to build a square palace. . . ."⁷⁴

Another monument of Armenian art, the Gospels dating 902 which have been given the name of Kakig's wife Mlke,⁷⁵ "servant of Christ and queen of the Armenians," is again a manifestation of the king's powerful influence.

It would have been logical if the foundation of the autocephalous seat of the Catholicos of Akhthamar, complementing the political independence of Vasburagan, had taken place under Kakig, as a certain writer tells us, but historical criticism considers this apocryphal and sets the first of these Catholicos in the twelfth century.⁷⁶

To perpetuate their memory the Ardzrunis also caused the story of their ancient house to be written down. This is a work of value and at the same time, as we have seen, an important source of information on our particular subject.

IV

In addition to the sculptures which derive from the Old and New Testaments, indications of the influence of foreign cultures may be found at Akhthamar. My attention has

67. Sarre and Trenkwald, *Anciens tapis d'Orient*, tr. L. Herr, Paris, 1927-29, II, p. 16.

68. R. Virchow, "The Place of the Caucasus in the History of Civilization," Armenian translation by L. Babayan, *Revue ethnographique*, 1896, No. 1, Shushi, pls. 1 and 2; J. de Morgan, *Les premiers âges des métaux dans l'Arménie russe*, Paris, 1889, fig. 81.

69. A. Sakisian, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 84.

70. V. Papasian, *Recueil photographique*, Vagharshabad, 1899.

71. The Turkish historian Ali seems to me to express the same idea for the Moslem Orient when he writes that "scholars and artists appear only under the patronage of generous sovereigns or illustrious viziers" (*Menakib-i-Hunerveran*, a little book on the Moslem book illuminators, written in Bagdad, 1587, printed in Istanbul, 1926).

72. Although the Armenian epic of *Tavish and Mher* which preserves the memory of the struggles against the

Arabs, is localized principally in Sassun, it has relationships with Van. See M. Abeghian, "The Armenian Popular Epic" (in Armenian), *Revue ethnographique*, 1907, No. 16, Tiflis, pp. 107, 113.

73. See N. Adontz, "Ashot Erkat ou de fer, roi d'Arménie de 913 à 929," *Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*, Brussels, 1935, vol. III.

74. Thoma Ardzruni, *op. cit.*, p. 331. Brosset, *op. cit.*, p. 238, translates this passage "une foule d'artistes . . . venus de toutes les contrées," but the word *yerghir* (pays or country), is used in the singular in the original text. M. Sakisian's French version of the Armenian runs: "À la porte royale étaient réunis de nombreux artistes en tous genres du pays . . ."

75. See A. Sakisian, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 64, 71, 73, 74.

76. F. Macler, "Le 'Liber Pontificalis' des Catholicos d'Aghthamar," *Journal asiatique*, CCII, 1923, p. 41. This author analyzes a work by P. Akinian.



FIG. 1. East Wall: Vine Frieze with Portrait of King Kakig, Bust of Adam

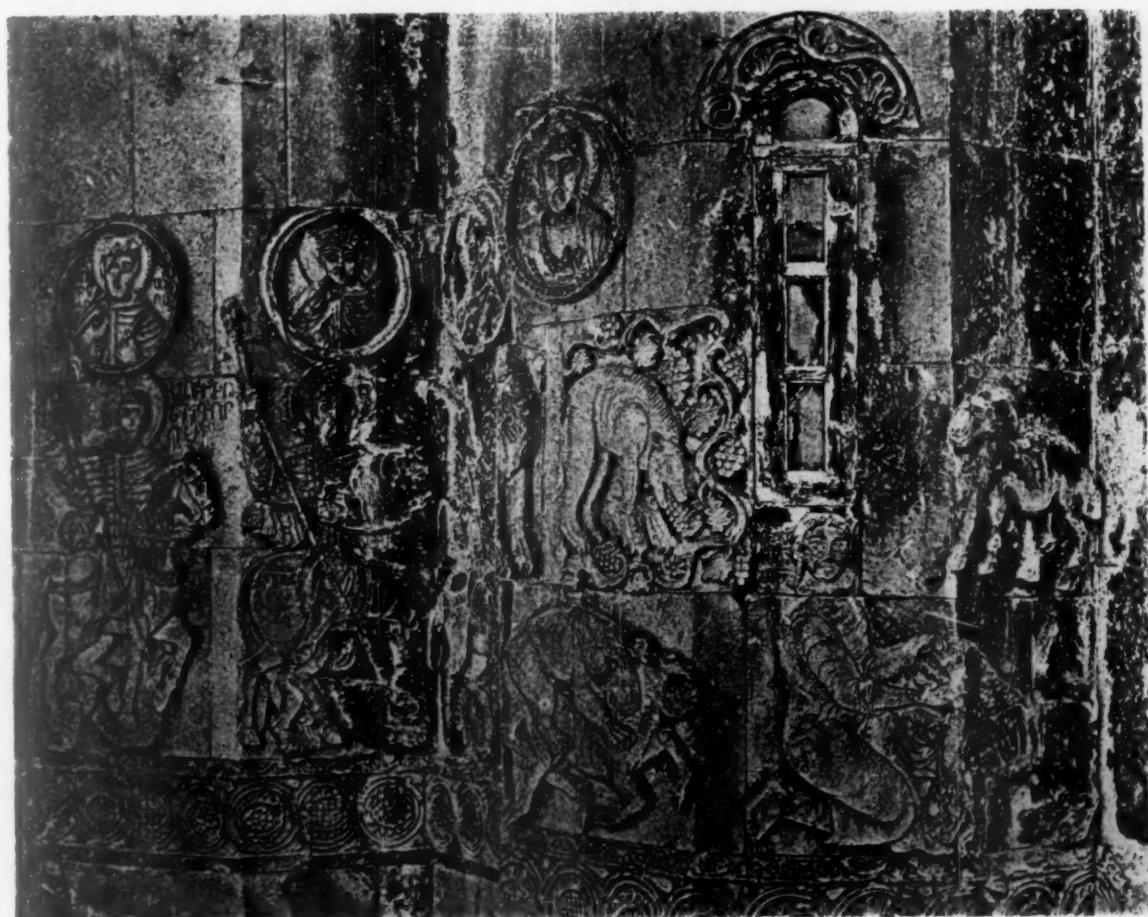


FIG. 2. North Wall: St. Theodore, St. Serge, David and a Lion

FIGS. 1-2. AKHTHAMAR, SOURP KHATCH, 915-921

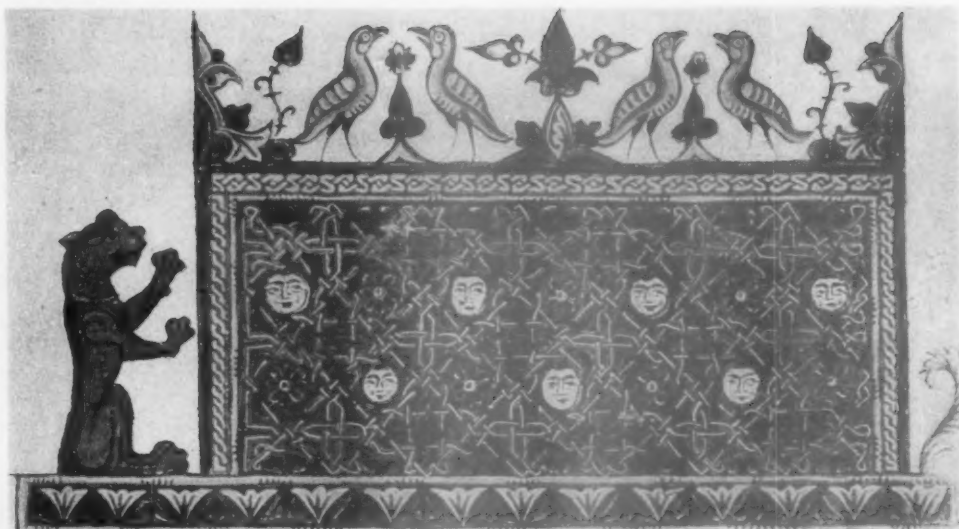


FIG. 3. Venice, San Lazzaro, Codex 16, fol. 7v.: Superstructure of Canon Table by Sarkis Bidzag



FIG. 4. Akhthamar, South Wall: Virgin and Child



FIG. 5. Akhthamar, West Wall: Motif from Robe of King Kakig



FIG. 6. Gospels of Etchmiadzin, fol. 10: Adoration of Magi



FIG. 7. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: Ms. 740, fol. 6v., Wild Beast Attacking Stag



FIG. 8. Akhthamar, North Wall: Siren

been attracted by the motif on the robe of the standing figure of Kakig⁷⁷ on the west façade. These juxtaposed circles, each ornamented with a bird, while the lozenges formed by the intervals are decorated with floral ornament (Fig. 5), are related to the decoration of the fabrics reproduced on the bas-reliefs of Tak-i-Bostan.⁷⁸ The tradition of Sassanid textiles of three hundred years earlier is thus continued in Armenia.

Another decorative element, of frequent occurrence, isolated or in series, in the friezes which run below the roofs of the church and of the dome,⁷⁹ is a human face.⁸⁰ Are these faces variations of those Hellenistic masks that are found, for instance, in the Parthian palace of Hatra⁸¹ on the middle Euphrates? It is difficult to answer this question categorically since the views of the façades of the church do not show the heads with sufficient clarity. It seems, on the other hand, very probable that there is a relationship between the masks of Akhthamar and the faces used as decorative motifs in Armenian illumination. An initial in the Gospels of Etchmiadzin, as early as 989, has its loop filled by a human head⁸² and this practice was very frequent from the end of the twelfth to the fourteenth century.⁸³ The illuminator Sarkis Pidzag of Cilicia inserts these heads in 1331 into the interlaces of the superstructure of a canon table (Fig. 3).⁸⁴ Another example of heads, placed in interlaces, is given by W. Stasoff.⁸⁵ In a Bible written in Persia in 1648, now in the Library of the Mékhitaristes in Venice, there is an illumination with twenty-four of these heads. Although this document is of a late period and lies beyond Armenia's ethnic frontiers, the illuminator Haïrabad certainly remained faithful to a national tradition.⁸⁶

It is interesting to examine more closely one of the subjects sculptured in stone of which relatively clear photographs exist. There is a portrait of King Kakig in a medallion formed by a vine on the main frieze (Fig. 1). He is seated, in oriental fashion, on a cushion, holding a cup in one hand and lifting the other toward a bunch of grapes. His goblet has a small pedestal, and this is a form of which no example is known to me in Moslem art.⁸⁷ The king's head is surrounded by a nimbus as it is on the large standing statue on the west façade. Halos are found on most ancient Moslem portraits, for example the drinker, glass in hand, on a fragment of fresco in the Arab Museum in Cairo, believed to be Fatimid and of the tenth century.⁸⁸ The Bagdad school of miniature painting in the thirteenth century and its successors in the following century, in Persia under the Moguls and in Egypt under the Mamelukes, also make use of halos.

The Cairo fresco is later, even according to the most favorable hypothesis, than the sculptured portrait of Kakig, for the Fatimid conquest of Egypt took place in 969;⁸⁹ con-

77. W. Bachmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 39. See also the very clear figure given by Y. Lalayan, *op. cit.*, pl. 3.

78. F. Sarre, *L'art de la Perse ancienne*, figs. 94, 97.

79. Y. Lalayan, *op. cit.*, pp. 203, 204.

80. Two can be seen at the extremities of the frieze with runs under the roof of the west façade; they seem to serve as corbels. See W. Bachmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 17, and J. Strzygowski, *L'ancien art chrétien de Syrie*, fig. 90. On fig. 142 in Lynch, *op. cit.*, it is possible to distinguish under the roof, on the right, a row of a dozen heads.

81. F. Sarre, *op. cit.*, figs. 59, 60.

82. F. Macler, *L'évangile arménien de la bibliothèque d'Etchmiadzin*, Paris, 1920, fol. 215v.

83. See A. Sakisian, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

83a. S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens illustrés des XII^e, XIII^e, et XIV^e siècles . . .*, Paris, 1937, pl. LXVIII.

84. W. Stasoff, *L'ornement slave et oriental*, St. Petersburg, 1884, pl. CXL1, in color, no. 24. This rectangular porch is very like that painted by Sarkis Pidzag, although the heads are sometimes full-face and sometimes three-quarters. The examples of ornament on this plate

are given as of the tenth to the twelfth century but No. 24 appears to be not earlier than the fourteenth.

85. For a few published examples see "In Commemoration of the Fifteen-hundredth Anniversary of the Armenian Translation of the Bible" (in Armenian), *Paz-maveb*, Sept.-Dec., 1935, Nos. 9-12; V. Hatzuni, "Manuscripts choisis des Saintes Ecritures à St. Lazare de Venise," *ibid.*, frontispiece and p. 410.

86. See A. Sakisian, *A propos d'une coupe en agate au nom du sultan timouride Hussein Baïcara*, Syria, 1926, illustration; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Grey, *Persian Miniature Painting*, London, 1933, pl. XLIV (the cup which Baïsunkur Mirza, seated on horseback, holds in his hand).

87. Gaston Wiet, *Exposition d'art persan*, Cairo, 1935, vol. II, Album, pl. 52.

88. The arch, punctuated with discs, beneath which the drinker is placed, a definite Sassanid influence, does not fix the age of the fresco, since a similar arch occurs in a miniature of the mid-fourteenth century illustrating a scientific treatise of Djaziri. See A. Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, Paris and Brussels, 1929, pl. XVI, fig. 22, and p. 20; cf. F. R. Martin, *op. cit.*, 1, frontispiece.

sequently the portrait of Akhthamar is probably older than those in the same pose transmitted to us through Moslem works.⁸⁹ Armenian miniature painting preserves also, from the middle of the eleventh century, portraits of King Kakig of Kars and of his wife and his daughter all seated in oriental fashion.⁹⁰

The human body, often naïvely and maladroitly drawn at Akhthamar — Adam and Eve⁹¹ for example — is better handled anatomically in the scene of David, knee to earth, forcing open the mouth of a lion (Fig. 2).⁹²

The Virgin and Child in frontal view deserve attention. She wears a nimbus and is seated on a very high-backed throne with the Archangels Gabriel and Michael on either side. Her face, with its large eyes, is typically Armenian, and so is that of the infant Jesus (Fig. 4) with its marked features. In general the image carvers of Akhthamar make the eyes of their figures important, accentuating the keenness of the glance, even in animals, so that it becomes a characteristic of their style. We might mention as examples the bust placed above an arch (Fig. 10) and the lion in the vineyard frieze (Fig. 1).

From the ethnic point of view the Virgin and Child of Akhthamar may be compared to the charming Virgin and Child of the Adoration of the Magi in the Gospels of Etchmiadzin of 989 (Fig. 6).⁹³ The anonymous artist of that marginal miniature has emphasized an essential characteristic of the Armenian physiognomy, the eyes, those windows of the soul.⁹⁴ The charm of the Virgin and the Child, the liveliness of their expressions, and the variety in symmetry of the composition make this little picture a work of great and exceptional interest. The drawing has nevertheless been called crude and unskilful and the work treated contemptuously because it does not conform to the canons of Byzantine iconography.

The Virgin appeared above the Island of Akhthamar to the great mystic Gregory of Nareg to whom we owe a touching and original portrait, in glowing, musical words, of the Holy Mother of God:

The clouds of her hair, like jeweled ornaments,⁹⁵
Are coiled in a triple tress about her cheeks.⁹⁶

Unfortunately no representation of Mary has come down to us with this coiffure with which the poet-monk must have been familiar in the tenth century.⁹⁷

89. The first Moslem coin with the portrait of a sovereign seated in oriental fashion is that of Saladin and dates, consequently, from the end of the twelfth century. See G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, Paris, 1927, I, fig. 202 and p. 402.

90. See A. Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, III, fig. on p. 269 and A. Sakisian, *Pages d'art arménien*, pp. 33, 42.

91. See Lynch, *op. cit.*, fig. 143; Bachmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 38.

92. Y. Lalayan, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

93. F. Macler, *L'Évangile arménien d'Etchmiadzin*, fol. 102. Miss Der Nersessian has established the fact that this Adoration of the Magi, like some of the other marginal illuminations in this manuscript, is later than 989 ("The Date of the Initial Miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel," *ART BULLETIN*, 1933, XV, pp. 327 ff.). They cannot, however, be much later.

94. The most striking example I know of a Virgin of Armenian type, with eyes which fill her whole face, is that of the Nativity in a 1418 Bible illustrated by Mgrditch Naghach, Bishop of Amid, *Paxmaveb*, *op. cit.*, Sept.-Dec., 1935; P. V. Hatzuni, *op. cit.*, fig. 33 and p. 407.

95. M. Sakisian's French version is this:

"Les nuées de sa chevelure, telles une parure,
S'enroulent en une triple tresse, autour de ses joues."

The expression "parure" may refer to a headdress which sometimes completes the feminine coiffure in the Orient. In Armenia, particularly in Karabagh, the fashion continues of wearing balls of gold or silver strung together like beads, a row of them hanging down along each cheek; while Persian miniature painting of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries has more than one example of a chaplet of pearls surrounding the cheeks and encircling the face.

96. This coiffure is after all simply a variation on that of the young Armenian girls of Djulfa described by the Spanish ambassador Figueroa. They bound their foreheads with fillets of taffeta, and nets of gold or of taffeta, covering their cheeks down to the neck, were drawn so tight that their faces looked "round and swollen." See *Ambassade de Garcia de Silva Figueroa en Perse*, Paris, 1667, pp. 201-202 and F. R. Martin, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 38 (here must be represented an Armenian girl from Djulfa).

97. In Cilicia in the second half of the thirteenth century, there appears in the school of Thoros Roslyn a Virgin's face, long and with regular features, which does not seem untouched by western influences. See the Gospels of Queen Guéran, 1272, especially the scenes of the Annunciation and the Nativity (A. Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, figs. on pp. 128, 250).

Saints on horseback, on foot, or in medallions (Figs. 2, 9, and 10) cover a large part of the walls of the church. Thus St. Theodore, on horseback (Fig. 2), pierces with his lance a dragon, which takes in the Armenian figure arts the form of a serpent, unlike the Sassanid, Chinese, and Moslem dragons.⁹⁸ St. Serge, also on horseback, in the same pose, puts to death a panther. The names of the saints and prophets whose busts are enclosed in medallions are generally engraved nearby. The Prophet Amos and St. Guiragos are above the horsemen (Fig. 2). St. Stephen, St. Sophonias and the Prophet Azaria are shown in the upper part of Figure 9. The fine portrait in Figure 1, which one is inclined to take for that of Christ, represents Adam, "who gave names to the animals and to the wild beasts."⁹⁹

Besides the saints usual in an oriental church we find some belonging not only to the Armenian calendar, like St. Gregory the Illuminator, but to the family of the Ardzrunis. The two standing figures with nimbus in Figure 10 are, according to the inscriptions, "Lord Saint Sahag" (seen from in front), and his brother "Saint Hamazasb, Prince of Vasburagan" (seen from the side), martyrs and confessors of Christ. These two ancestors of King Kakig who refused to abjure their faith, were put to death at Bardha in 786 by Yezid, Arabian governor of Armenia.¹⁰⁰ They are shown with frontal body and head and feet in profile, like Kakig in the large statue. The mantle of St. Sahag is decorated with the concentric motif which we find also on the inner robe of the king.¹⁰¹

Among the many animal subjects drawn from nature I will mention especially two bears facing each other, erect on their hind legs (Fig. 10). A desire for symmetry has influenced this composition, even to the two hares, placed between the bears' paws, with their heads turned at identical angles. A bear eating grapes (Fig. 2), which, with a vine and leaves, fills the block of stone, combines naturalism with intentions essentially decorative. The sculptor has bent the vine in an ornamental fashion and has made of it a sort of arabesque. This vine is in spirit closely akin to one composed of two stocks, with grapes, leaves, and branches treated in a similar way, in the Gospels of Queen Mlke of 902.¹⁰²

An eagle holding a pigeon in its talons and tearing it,¹⁰³ is sculptured in a stylized technique (Fig. 10). The subject occurs often in the Orient in Christian art as well as Moslem, but this specimen is already of a respectable age.

The thousands of years old theme of a lion attacking a neat is found in Akhthamar rendered with great realism (Fig. 2). The wild beast, with fierce look, plunges its fangs and claws into the flesh of its bellowing prey. The same subject carved on a Hispano-Moresque ivory box of 968¹⁰⁴ is far inferior to the Armenian version.¹⁰⁵ On the Moslem monuments of Diarbekir felines appear also and the group in which a ruminant animal is attacked by a lion. The two feline pendants on the door of Kharput (909-910) are carved in "naïve and crude style," according to Van Berchem,¹⁰⁶ while the lions of Akhthamar are the products of a well developed art (Figs. 1 and 2). In the Great Mosque of Amida, built in the second half of the twelfth century, a "ruminant bends its knees beneath the weight of a feline crouched on its back." Van Berchem, who greatly admires this carving, speaks of "the conventional character of the design,"¹⁰⁷ which puts it in a different class from the group in Figure 2.¹⁰⁸ A miniature from Cilicia, three centuries and a half later than Akh-

98. See A. Sakisian, *Pages d'art arménien*, pp. 82-83, figs. 30-34.

99. Y. Lalayan, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-207.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 203, note 1.

101. *Ibid.*, pl. 3.

102. P. M. Bodurian, *The Illustrations of the Gospel of Queen Mlke* (in Armenian), Venice, 1902, 1st pl. in color; and A. Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, fig. on p. 227.

103. Y. Lalayan, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

104. G. Migeon, *Musée du Louvre, L'orient musulman* [Paris, c. 1922], pl. 10.

105. This comparison is permissible, for Andalusia,

after having been originally conquered by the Umayyad caliphs of Syria, found itself, when they fell, under the domination of an Umayyad dynasty contemporary with the Abbasside caliphs. As may be seen also from this box, Hispano-Moresque art is impregnated with oriental influences.

106. M. Van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida*, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 17, pl. III.

107. *Ibid.*, p. 67, fig. 25.

108. H. Layard writes of Akhthamar: "This building affords another clue to the origin of the early Mussulman architecture — Arab and Tartar — remains of which

thamar, which represents a feline attacking a deer (Fig. 7),¹⁰⁹ seems to perpetuate the iconographic traditions of Greater Armenia. Though realism remains, the elegance of the lines announces the achievements of Persian art under the Timurids in the fifteenth,¹¹⁰ and the Safavids, in the sixteenth centuries.

Not less numerous than the realistic are the fabulous animals. The siren-bird, very frequent in Armenian illumination and sculpture¹¹¹ and known also in Byzantine art, must have a Greek origin. Akhthamar offers an impressive example (Fig. 8). It should be compared with the stylized bird of fine design with the head of a ram in Figure 10. J. Baltrusaitis describes this as composed in an ideal medallion which does not appear in the sculpture.¹¹²

The forepart of the body, feet and wings of the monster to the right of the Jonah scene are those of the Sassanid dragon,¹¹³ known to Armenian art, although the representations which have come down to us on a fresco in the church of St. Gregory of Ani date only from 1215.¹¹⁴ At Akhthamar the peacock's tail of the dragon has been replaced by a fish's tail (Fig. 9). The fish, placed beneath this monster and found carved in higher relief on the north façade,¹¹⁵ is probably the celebrated *darekh* of Lake Van, a drawing of which is given by Müller-Simonis.¹¹⁶

A griffin with a great deal of character is placed above the two fighting bears (Fig. 10). Even if its prototype is Greek, this creature is orientalized and stylized, while the griffin at Mschatta which, with a lion, flanks a cup,¹¹⁷ is completely Hellenistic. The griffin of Akhthamar has its toes and claws sharply separated and a rosette at the juncture of each paw. The same design occurs not only in the sculptured dragon-peacock of Tak-i-Bostan and the textile reproducing it in the Victoria and Albert Museum but also in the elephants on the Moslem fabric of St. Josse,¹¹⁸ which are later than the sculptures of Akhthamar.¹¹⁹ This decorative tradition derives from the Sassanids. The Fatimid bronze griffin of the Campo Santo at Pisa, ascribed to the eleventh century,¹²⁰ is again stylized but is distinctly different. The head is like the head of the griffin of Akhthamar but the rendering is less lively and, despite its proud allure, we may prefer the sculptured figure.

Finally a picturesque group of narrative sculpture is concerned with the story of Jonah (Fig. 9).¹²¹ The principal composition, rectangular in form, presents a sailing ship placed above the whale which is shown as a huge scaly fish with the head of a mammal. On the ship, with its two high pointed stems, are three sailors, one of them heaving overboard the prophet who has one hand in the mouth of the sea monster. Level with the sail, on the right, we see Jonah preaching and beside him the king of Nineveh, seated in oriental fashion on cushions,¹²² in a position like that of King Kakig on the vine frieze (Fig. 1).

The ship must preserve the type of sailing vessel that, in the tenth century, plowed the

exist in many parts of Asia Minor and particularly at Akhlut." *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, New York, 1853, p. 414, note.

109. Gospels of Marshal Oshin, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 740, fol. 6v. See A. Sakisian, *op. cit.*, p. 13, fig. 3.

110. See A. Sakisian, "La reliure persane au XV^e siècle sous les Timourides," *Revue de l'art*, LXIV, 1933, fig. 3.

111. See Sakisian, *Pages d'art arménien*, fig. 26, pp. 54, 81-82.

112. *Études sur l'art médiéval en Géorgie et en Arménie*, p. 52.

113. See F. Sarre, *op. cit.*, figs. 94, 95.

114. J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, fig. 339.

115. Lynch, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 143.

116. *Op. cit.*, pp. 258-259.

117. J. Strzygowski, *L'ancien art chrétien de Syrie*, pl. XIII.

118. G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, II, fig. 410; *Musée du Louvre, L'orient musulman*, p. 131, pl. 39.

119. W. Barthold (*Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, Oxford, 1928, p. 301) says, on the authority of the historian Bayhagi, that Begtegin (mentioned in an inscription on the St. Josse fabric) was appointed ruler of Tirmidh under Sebuktigin (976-997) and that he died in 1034.

120. G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, I, p. 374, fig. 182.

121. The smooth upper wall shown in Figure 9 seems to carry traces of bullets, which brings to mind a touching story. One night Kurdish brigands who had failed in an attempt to force the doors of the church and pillage it, spitefully discharged their muskets against the outer walls. The next day blood flowed from the wounds in the stone (D. Gamsaragan, *Anahit*, Sept.-Dec., 1938, p. 9).

122. Y. Lalayan, *op. cit.*, p. 207.



FIG. 9. South Wall: Jonah and the Sea Monster, King of Nineveh, Busts of Saints and Prophets

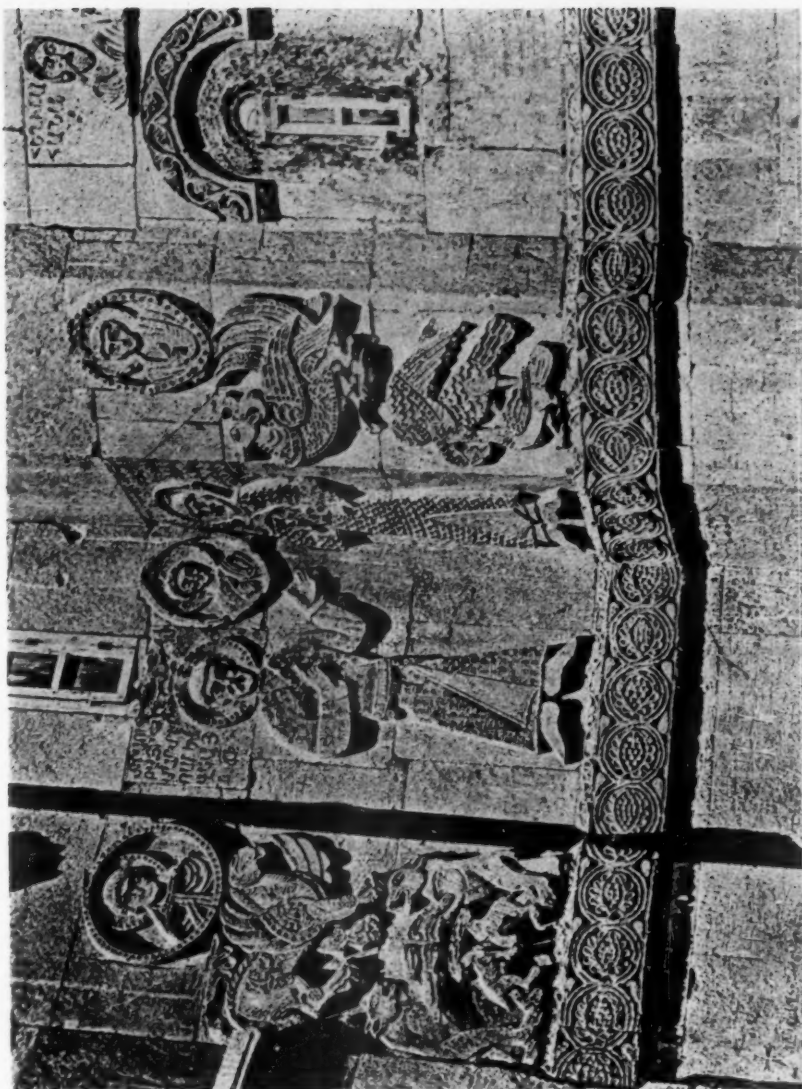


FIG. 10. South Wall: Saints of Ardzruni Family, Griffin, Beasts and Birds

FIGS. 9-10. AKHTHAMAR, SOURP KHATCH, 915-921



waters of Lake Van, called in Armenian the Sea of Van.¹²³ From the cave where Gregory of Nareg withdrew to pray one sees the blue sheet of the lake, from which rises the Island of Akhthamar,¹²⁴ and "the sea calm and smiling, stirred by a gentle breeze," in the words of the hermit, can be only Lake Van. It is the spectacle of the same lake in tempest and of the ship foundering that Gregory of Nareg has described in realistic and powerful style in the *Shipwreck* in his *Songs of Lamentation*.¹²⁵

This remarkable monument of mediaeval sculpture, the Church of Akhthamar, is definitely Armenian in character; its appearance, together with secular buildings like the Palace of Kakig, no longer in existence, is part of a local nationalist movement which had its roots deep in the soil. The Sassanid and Hellenistic influences and the Christian iconography do not alter the originality and spontaneity of this artistic flowering, doubly significant because it occurred under the Arab domination.¹²⁶

123. Lake Van with 3400 square kilometers is six times larger than Lake Geneva.

124. The Convent of Nareg lies southwest of the Island of Akhthamar on a height several kilometers from the shore and the caves are not far from the convent. See Y. Lalayan, "Vasburagan, The Convent of Nareg" (in Armenian), *Revue ethnographique*, No. 21, 1911, pp. 37, 41, and for the caves the plate facing p. 52.

125. See A. Tchobanian, "Grégoire de Narek," *Mercur de France*, XXXVI, 1900, p. 400. The Arabian influences which M. Tchobanian sees in the style of the great

mystic (*ibid.*, p. 397) are completely repudiated by Mgr. Torkom in his modern Armenian version of the *Prayer Book of St. Gregory of Nareg*, Jerusalem, 1931, p. 22.

126. Smpad the Bagratid was crucified in 914 by the Arab governor Yusuf, a deed condemned by Ibn-Hawqal. Smpad was the son and the successor of Ashod "Prince of Princes of Armenia and Georgia," later elevated to royal rank. See W. Barthold, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 354 (s.v. *Ani*). The buildings of Kakig at Akhthamar are contemporary, therefore, with the tragic end of Smpad.

FROM CHINA TO PALMYRA

BY OTTO MAENCHEN-HELFEN

UNTIL a few years ago our information about silk brought from China to the Roman Orient was almost exclusively based on occasional references and vague allusions in classical authors. It was not even certain whether silk fabrics actually reached the West although raw silk and silk yarn certainly did. Neither in Egypt where the climatic conditions for the preservation of textiles are so favorable, nor elsewhere in the Mediterranean region or the Near East, has a single piece of Chinese silk been found.¹ As late as 1931 G. F. Hudson could write: "There is no evidence that there was ever in the Roman world a taste for Chinese patterned silk."² Under these circumstances Strzygowski's attempt³ to trace back the lozenge pattern in occidental silk style to China did not meet with approval;⁴ similar later attempts to establish a relationship between Chinese and late-antique textile patterns were equally unsuccessful.⁵ The evidence for such far-reaching theories was too slight.

Our very scant knowledge was considerably increased by the recovery of a number of fragments of silk from two tombs in Palmyra in 1933. Before the outbreak of the war they were in the museum in Damascus. It is true that not all of them are particularly impressive; most of them are very badly preserved. Being, however, the first documents of Chinese textile art ever found in the Roman Orient, they deserve some attention.

It was almost to be expected that Chinese silk would one day be found at Palmyra. The city was one of the most important stations of the silk route which ran from Merv via Seleucia-Ctesiphon to Damascus and Gaza.⁶ From a recently discovered inscription, brilliantly interpreted by Henry Seyrig,⁷ we learn that merchants of Palmyra also imported silk over sea routes. Their ships, we read, sailed to Scythia. By "Scythia" is meant not south Russia, but that part of the coast of northwest India and its hinterland which in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* is called "Scythia." From Barbarike, at the mouth of the Indus, and Barygaza (the modern Broach) merchandise was shipped to the trading places on the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.⁸ Silk was brought to the Scythian ports from Thinae (China) through Bactria.⁹

The Palmyrene fragments were found in the tombs of Jamblichus and Elahbel, the one built in A.D. 83, the other in A.D. 103.¹⁰ Both were family mausoleums used until A.D. 273, when Palmyra was abandoned. We cannot from this information give the silks an exact date. The period in which they were woven and imported (in no case later than A.D. 273) corresponds roughly to that of the later Han dynasty (A.D. 25-220).

The *Direction des Antiquités du Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie* entrusted the study of the silks to M. R. Pfister, the well-known authority on the

1. The only Chinese silk fabric which has been recovered from a tomb dating from the Roman Imperial age (first century A.D.; cf. M. I. Rostowzew, *Skythien und der Bosphorus*, Berlin, 1931, I, p. 208, note 1), a small fragment found near Kertch in the Crimea in 1842 (cf. N. Toll, "Zametki o kitaiskom shelke na iuge Rossii," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, I, 1938, pp. 85-92) was too inconspicuous to attract the attention of the historians.

2. *Europe and China*, London, 1931, p. 91.

3. *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXIV, 1903, p. 174.

4. Cf., however, M. Dimand, *Die Ornamentik der ägyptischen Wollwirkereien*, Leipzig, 1924, pp. 59-60.

5. Namio Engami (*Tōhō Gakuhō*, Tokyo, No. 6, February, 1936, p. 237) tried to prove that the motif

of the "Joint Trees" (cf. B. Laufer, *Chinese Grave Sculptures of the Han Period*, London and New York, 1911, pp. 6-17) can be found in Coptic textiles.

6. Hudson, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 106-108, map p. 73.

7. "Inscription relative au commerce maritime de Palmyre," *Mélanges Franz Cumont*, Brussels, 1936, pp. 397-402.

8. Cf. M. Rostovtzeff in *Mélanges Gustave Glotz*, Paris, 1932, II, pp. 793-811.

9. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, translated by W. H. Schoff, New York, 1912, ch. 29; ch. 64, pp. 268-270.

10. R. Pfister, *Textiles de Palmyre*, Paris, 1934, pp. 7-8.

history of textiles. His conclusions based on a careful investigation of the material, the technique, and, to a lesser degree, the designs were for a time generally accepted.¹¹ The Palmyrene silks were regarded as Chinese. This attribution, however, was recently strongly challenged. Dr. Phyllis Ackerman tried to prove that one of the patterned fabrics was Eastern Parthian, whereas the two others were, in her opinion, too neutral to permit a definite attribution.¹² While Dr. Ackerman admitted at least "Far Eastern characteristics in the animal drawing and weaving technique," Mlle. T. Schnitter would not even concede this. Her verdict pronounced after a detailed analysis of the technique is rather discouraging for those who had thought that the importation of Chinese silk to the Roman Empire had been finally proved: "l'armature Han est un mythe."¹³

As long as one confines oneself to the purely technical side of weaving, it cannot be decided whether a silk fabric dating from the first three centuries of our era is of Chinese origin or not, at least with the knowledge at present at our disposal. As yet no reference has been made to silks found in Han tombs in China proper. The finds of Japanese archaeologists in Korea are negligible. There remain the finds made in Mongolia and the Chinese borderland. Since, however, some scholars nowadays claim these regions for "Outer Iran" the Chinese origin of finds made there is no longer self-evident.

It is certain that a greater variety of weaving techniques must have existed in China during the Han period than is shown by the excavated specimens.¹⁴ We know that *chin* means silk brocade such as has been discovered in Lou-lan and Noin Ula. *Lo* is the name of the thin, net-like gauze which the excavations in Mongolia and Central Asia brought to light. Braided cords, *tsu*, have been found in Wang Hsü's tomb at Lo-lang. But what are *ling*, *ch'i*, *hu*, *sha*, *chien*, *kao*, *huan*, textile terms frequently to be met with in Han literature? We do not know. Only by analysis of the design can we tell whether a silk is Chinese.

I

The most beautiful and most important of the fragments is S 9, found in the tomb of Elahbel (Fig. 5).¹⁵ Dr. Ackerman, in describing the silk, states her reasons why it should be classified as Eastern Parthian: "A row of roundels alternates with a chain of lozenges, both vertical. The roundel encloses two pairs, feet to feet, of symmetrically reversed lions, one forepaw lifted in the Ancient Eastern priestly gesture. A central annulet carries twelve dots. Here, obviously, is the solar lion with the ecliptic, and the pattern is important as the antecedent of the most usual Sasanian textile composition. Each lozenge frames a cross foliated with a heart-shaped leaf and is bordered on either side with an interrupted band likewise carrying such leaves. This is equally obviously a moon motif; the heart-shaped figure, a degeneration of the classical ivy leaf, is typically Parthian."

It can be proved that the elements of the design and their combination into a whole, far from being neutral or merely "oriental," are Chinese. The ring in the middle immediately reminds one of Chinese jade discs. It has the same proportions, the same relationship between the opening in the middle and the width of the ring; it is furthermore covered with small circles.¹⁶ In ancient China jade discs were placed upon silken rolls when they were offered as gifts.¹⁷ It is, therefore, quite understandable that jades appear in the designs of silk fabrics.

11. *Op. cit.*, pp. 61-63.

12. *Survey of Persian Art*, New York, 1938, I, pp. 688-689.

13. "Chine ou Proche Orient?" *Revue archéologique*, XIII, 1939, pp. 73-102.

14. Harada Yoshito, *Kan Rikuchō no fukushoku*, Tokyo, 1937, pp. 19-26. Cf. H. Lüders, "Textilien im alten Turkestan," *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akade-*

mie der Wissenschaften, 1936, No. 3, pp. 24-29, 35-37.

15. Pfister, *op. cit.*, fig. 10, and pl. XI.

16. Since the ring carries 14 dots, not 12, as Dr. Ackerman says, it cannot be the ecliptic.

17. *Lǐ kǐ*, translated by S. Couvreur, Ho Kien Fou, 1899, I, p. 568; *I lǐ*, translated by S. Couvreur, Hsien Hsien, 1916, pp. 376-377.

According to an undisputed tradition jade discs were originally symbols of heaven. It is difficult to decide whether this still holds true for the later Huai period. The former plain surface is now adorned with plastic spirals¹⁸ which gradually become mere raised dots.¹⁹ A small ring is added in the center, connected with the outer one by spokes.²⁰ Animals begin to interrupt the outline.²¹ They appear in open work, filling the space between the "flesh" and the smaller central ring,²² and also on the outer edge.²³ Birds and tigers are often arranged in pairs, facing in opposite directions (Fig. 4).²⁴ Four pairs of confronting birds, spaced between an outer and an inner circle, appear also later on Han mirrors.²⁵

It is this type of pattern which we meet on the silk fragment S 9 (Fig. 5). As so many textile patterns which generally show a pronounced tendency to outlive changes of style, it was in use as late as the later T'ang period.²⁶

It could be objected that such a pattern might have independent origin in Parthia or anywhere else as well as in China. However, it is known only on objects from China and, furthermore, additional features of the four animals on S 9 are typically and exclusively Chinese. The long feline body, the long curved neck, the peculiar head with the open mouth showing the fangs, and the crest are the characteristics of the crested tiger, an animal known from scores of pre-Han and Han pieces. The jade beast in Figure 6²⁷ has not only the forepaw lifted like those on the silk, it is also combined with the spiral covered ring.²⁸

On S 9 the lozenges frame a quatrefoil (Fig. 5). We are not concerned here with the development of the quatrefoil from the time of its first appearance in Chinese decoration to the stage in which we see it on our fragment. But I wish to point out a few of the main variants chiefly to emphasize that the motif is of considerable antiquity.

Destined by its nature to accentuate the center of a decorative pattern, the quatrefoil accordingly assumes the most varied shapes. It can be studied best from bronze mirrors.²⁹ There it is usually found radiating from the circular seat of the loop. On the most ancient Huai mirrors the leaves are naturalistically rendered, the middle rib is clearly visible, the edges of the leaves are raised.³⁰ The shape of the leaves is largely, but by no means invariably, conditioned by the surrounding field and especially by the frame which encloses it. If the distance between the central knob of the mirror, conceived as a petal, and the circular zone around the knob is small, the leaves are necessarily broad.³¹ If the knob is framed by a square zone or if the distance between the knob and the surrounding zone is wider, the tips of the leaves are drawn out so that they may reach the corners of the square or the distant zone.³²

The square field may be occupied by two quatrefoils of different size, so combined that their points are equidistant from each other.³³ The leaves can also be put on the outer corners

18. See A. Salmony, *Carved Jade of Ancient China*, Berkeley, 1938, pls. XXXVII, 1-4; XXXVIII, XXXIX.

19. *Ibid.*, pl. LXIV, 1.

20. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVII, 2.

21. *Ibid.*, pls. XXXVII, 4; XXXVIII.

22. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVII, 3.

23. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII.

24. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVII, 3.

25. *Archaeological Researches in the Ancient Lolang District*. Special Report of the Service of Antiquities (hereafter referred to as *Lolang*), Government-General of Chosen, 1925, IV, II, pl. 243, No. 1293.

26. Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, Oxford, 1921, pl. CXIV.

27. *The Chinese Exhibition*. A Commemorative Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art, 1935-1936, London, 1936, pl. 47, No. 359.

28. Beasts with the forepaw lifted occur also on numerous Huai bronzes.

29. It is quite frequent on bronze vessels; cf., e.g., Umehara Sueji, *Étude des bronzes des royaumes com-*

battants, Kyoto, 1936 (hereafter referred to as *Bronzes*), pl. 31; Umehara Sueji, *Shina kodō seikwa* (abbrev. *S.K.S.*), III, p. 229. A primitive form of the quatrefoil occurs on two tings from Li-yü: *Bronzes*, pl. 23; on a bronze object, probably part of a mirror, *S.K.S.*, VI, 44b.

30. Umehara Sueji, *Ōbei ni okeru Shina kokyō*, Tokyo, 1931 (abbrev. *Shina kokyō*), pl. 7, 1. These naturalistic quatrefoils occur also in epicenters where real or imaginary lines meet or cross, cf. Umehara Sueji, *L'Étude sur le miroir antérieur à la dynastie des Han* (abbrev. *Miroir*), Kyoto, 1935, pl. VIII, 2. If the leaves are inlaid with small discs of semiprecious stones they are apt to lose their floral character and adapt themselves to the flat relief of the mirror décor: e.g., *Miroir*, pl. X, 1; flat, but not inlaid: *Miroir*, pl. I, 6.

31. Huai: *Miroir*, pl. I, 2; not framed: *ibid.*, pl. XVII, 3; XVIII, 1, 2. Han: *Lolang*, No. 1265; *S.K.S.*, IV, 54-57; *Shina kokyō*, pl. 21.

32. *Lolang*, Nos. 1266, 1273-4.

33. *S.K.S.* IV, 58b, 61-63, 66, 72.

of the square.³⁴ Between them and the corners characters can be inserted.³⁵ The leaves often assume here, as in other cases, what the Chinese archaeologists call the "bat shape," *pien fu hsing*.³⁶ The leaves can be put on stalks which often grow out of other leaves.³⁷ They grow to veritable shrubs or trees which are, in turn, often multiplied from four to eight.

This enumeration of types is far from being exhaustive. The development is also not at all unilateral. We can observe developments in different directions at the same time, and the results may occur on one and the same object. Primitive types of the quatrefoil appear on late Han mirrors side by side with highly developed and transformed ones. To date mirrors by the shape of the quatrefoil is hazardous.³⁸

The special form of the quatrefoil depends, as we have said, on the shape of the object or the design of which it is a part. Sometimes it appears as a cross with arms of equal length.³⁹ Within an oblong frame the vertical arms become longer and the horizontal ones shorter.⁴⁰ In this form the quatrefoil appears in the lozenge on our silk. This particular pattern was in use as late as the seventh and eighth centuries.⁴¹

Throughout the Huai and Han periods the quatrefoil was one of the most favorite motifs. It was painted in lacquer⁴² and on bronze,⁴³ inlaid in bronze⁴⁴ and wood,⁴⁵ incised in bronze,⁴⁶ jade,⁴⁷ and wood,⁴⁸ and stamped on tiles.⁴⁹ The quatrefoil on the Palmyrene silk has nothing to do with the classical or Parthian ivy leaf. It is purely Chinese.

The combination of the zigzag lozenge with the quatrefoil was quite common in the Han period. We find it, however, already on Huai mirrors. On a mirror in the collection of the Crown Prince of Sweden the zigzag lozenge frames the quatrefoil exactly as on the Palmyrene fragment (Fig. 7).⁵⁰ The same lozenge appears on other Huai mirrors together with four identical birds (Fig. 8).⁵¹ No less than three of the elements discussed — namely, the quatrefoil, the four animals, and the zigzag lozenge, occur on a mirror in the collection David Weill (Fig. 9).⁵²

All the motifs of S 9 — the concentric circles covered with dots, the confronting animals between the circles, the crested tigers, the quatrefoil, and the zigzag lozenges — are Chinese. They are centuries older than the silk.

II

The two other patterned silks, S 5, found in the tomb of Jamblichus (Fig. 1),⁵³ and S 10, found in the tomb of Elahbel (Fig. 3),⁵⁴ have two motifs in common: the lozenges and the circles with a rectangle or a square in the middle. In S 10 the lozenges and the circles are arranged in two parallel rows; a third row consists of monster heads. In S 5 lozenges and circles are combined in a way which, like the motifs themselves, is well known on Han objects.

The circles enclosing squares represent the familiar Chinese coins with the hole in the

34. *Miroir*, pl. VIII, 2; X, 5.

35. *Lolang*, Nos. 1283-89; *Shina kokyō*, pls. 34, 36.

36. *Lolang*, Nos. 1262-4, 1269-72, 1276; *Han chin wen lu*, 5, 49b.

37. *Miroir*, pl. IX, 2, 3; X, 2. Combined with the simple quatrefoil: *Miroir*, pl. XV, 2.

38. Cf. B. Karlgren, "Huai and Han," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, No. 13, 1941, pp. 100-101.

39. Cf. *The Tomb of the Painted Basket of Lolang*, Keijo, 1934, pl. CXXII, fig. 50.

40. *Ibid.*, pl. XLI; *Nan-shan-li* (*Archaeologia Orientalis*, III), Tokyo and Kyoto, 1933, frontispiece.

41. Sir Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia*, Oxford, 1928, pl. LXXXIV.

42. It is very frequent in the Lolang finds.

43. O. Sirén, *History of Early Chinese Art*, London, 1929-30, II, pl. 50.

44. *Catalogue of the Eumorfopoulos Collection*, London, 1930, II, pl. XLIII.

45. *Lolang*, Nos. 518, 519, 643, 666, etc.

46. Sirén, *op. cit.*, pl. 52.

47. Salmony, *Jade*, pl. LV, 1; *Shū Kan i hō*, Tokyo, 1932, pl. LXIII, 1.

48. Cf. W. Ch. White, *Tombs of Old Lo-yang*, Shanghai, 1934, pl. CLIX.

49. *Id.*, *Tomb Tile Pictures of Ancient China*, Toronto, 1939, pls. CXIV-CXVII.

50. *Miroir*, pl. XII, 3.

51. *Miroir*, pl. XVI, 5.

52. *Miroir*, pl. XXI, 2.

53. Pfister, *op. cit.*, fig. 8, and pl. IXe.

54. Pfister, *op. cit.*, fig. 11, and pl. Xb.

middle through which a cord was run. From Han times on the Chinese used them,⁵⁵ especially the *wu-chu* coins,⁵⁶ as one of their most favorite motifs. Knife coins and spade coins have been used for the same purpose — to express the wish for wealth. Coin impressions occur on lacquered objects,⁵⁷ coin patterns on scores of bronzes⁵⁸ and tiles.⁵⁹

The lattice-lozenge pattern appears in combination with circles on Han reliefs⁶⁰ and hundreds of Han tiles.⁶¹ The circles show very often a square in the middle, thus clearly indicating that they were intended to represent coins.⁶² No less frequently the characters on each side of the square are distinctly rendered.

It is this combination of the lattice pattern in its lozenge variant with the *wu-chu* coin, well known from Han tiles (Fig. 2),⁶³ which served as the pattern on S 5 (Fig. 1). Even the hour-glass shape of the two figures to the right and left of the central rectangle in each circle coincides with the character *wu* as it appears on the coins.

Pfister has shown that the material of the silk fabrics found in the tombs of Palmyra is the cocoon secretion of the mulberry-leaf moth. We have seen that one of the tombs was used between A.D. 83 and A.D. 273, the other between A.D. 103 and A.D. 273, and we know that during the first three centuries of our era silk was produced only in China. The designs of the silks we have proved to be Chinese and closely akin to those found on objects of the late Han period, although some of the designs are of more ancient origin. One must conclude that the Palmyrene silks were woven in China some time between the beginning of the Christian era and A.D. 273.

The fact that Chinese silks were actually imported into the Roman Orient is of some importance for the history of occidental textile art. A re-examination of Coptic and early Byzantine fabrics, which now becomes imperative, may yield some unexpected results.

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55. The type spread far to the west; cf. O. I. Smirnova, "Novye dannye po istorii Sogda VIII veka," *Vestnik drevnei istorii*, 4(9), 1939, pp. 98-99.

56. First issued in 118 B.C. Cf. Terrien de Lacouperie, *Catalogue of the Chinese Coins in the British Museum from the VIIIth century B.C. to A.D. 621*, London, 1892, pp. 360-362.

57. *Lolang*, Text, p. 394, figs. 285-287.

58. Very common on mirrors. On basins: *Han chin wen lu*, 5, 13b (dated A.D. 136); 5, 21b, 29b, 41a, 45a, 46b, 47b, 69b, 70b; 7, 14a, 16a. Various objects: *ibid.*, 4, 10a, b, 12a, b, 36a, b (dated 31 B.C.), 37a, b

(dated A.D. 27), 38a, b, 39b-44b. Moulds: *Lolang*, Nos. 59-61.

59. A few examples: Academia Sinica, *Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology*, 1, 4 (1930), pl. II, 2, 3; *Han chuan*, 7b, 8a, 14a, 15a, b, 24b, 28b, 33a; *Nan-shan-li*, fig. 29a, 13, 14; 30, 6, 7.

60. E. Chavannes, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*, Paris, 1909, pls. v, xxv.

61. *Lolang*, No. 248, 1024-1027.

62. Cf. *Nan-shan-li*, English Text, p. 13.

63. Morooka Eiji, *Rakurō oyobi Kokuri kogawa zusu*, Kyoto, 1935, pl. 17, fig. 41.

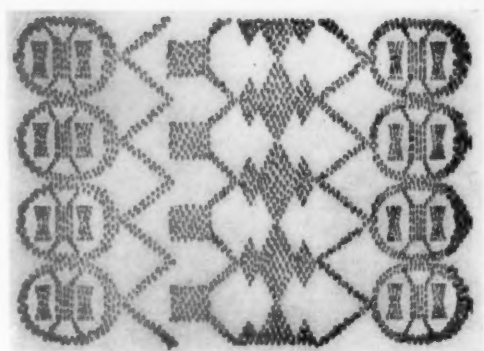


FIG. 1. Silk Fragment from Palmyra (S 5), Detail of Design

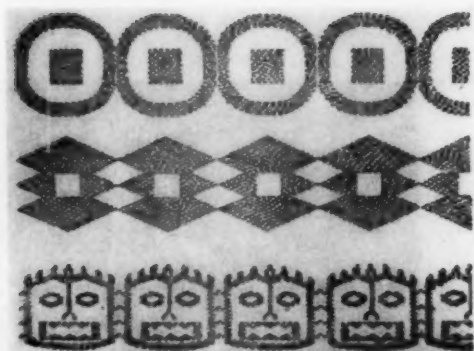


FIG. 3. Silk Fragment from Palmyra (S 10), Detail of Design

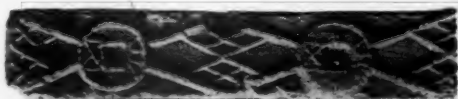


FIG. 2. Han Tile, Detail



FIG. 4. New York, G. L. Winthrop Collection: Jade Disc (Huai Period)

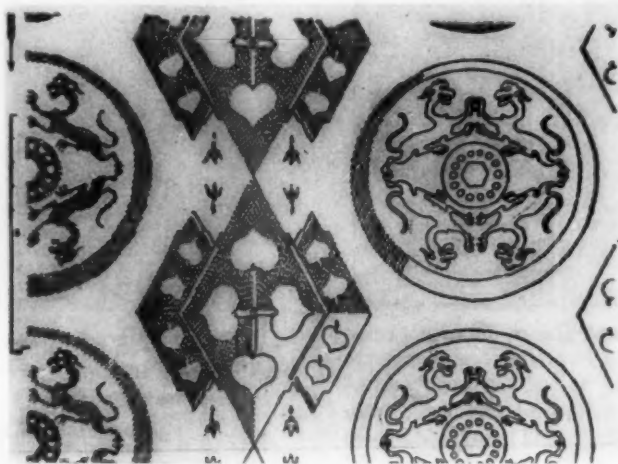


FIG. 5. Silk Fragment from Palmyra (S 9), Detail of Design



FIG. 6. Shanghai, Ch'ang Nai-chi Collection: Jade Girdle Ornament (Huai Period)



FIG. 7. Stockholm, Collection Crown Prince of Sweden: Huai Mirror



FIG. 8. Springfield, Mass., R. A. Bidwell Collection: Huai Mirror

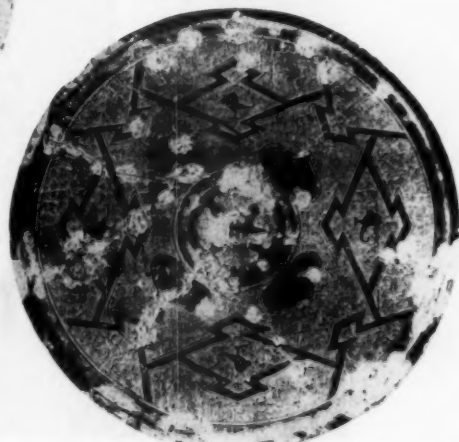


FIG. 9. Paris, David Weill Collection: Huai Mirror



FIG. 1. London, British Museum: Dürer, Drawing of Apollo (L. 233)



FIG. 2. Dürer, Engraving, The Standard Bearer (B. 87)

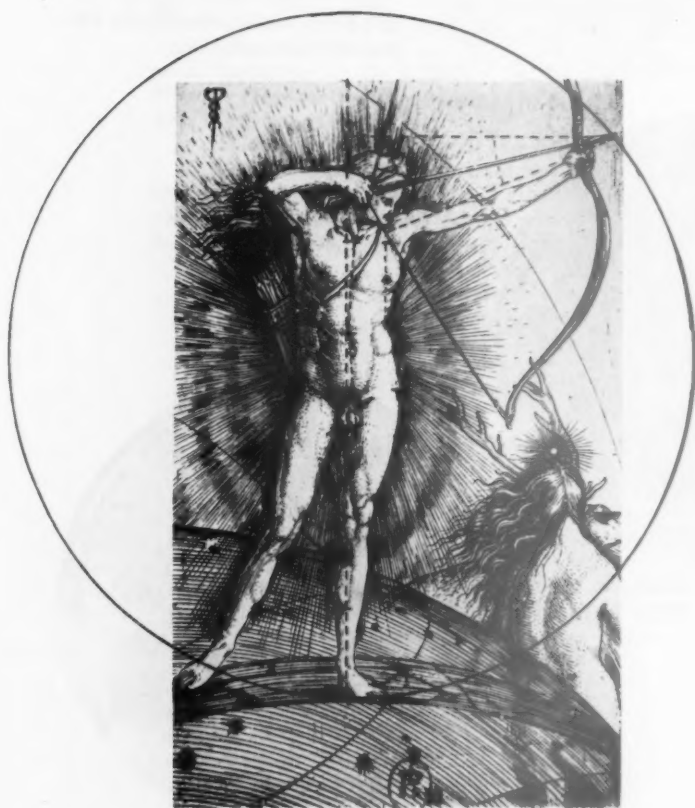


FIG. 3. Jacopo de' Barbari, Engraving, Apollo (B. 16) (K. 14)

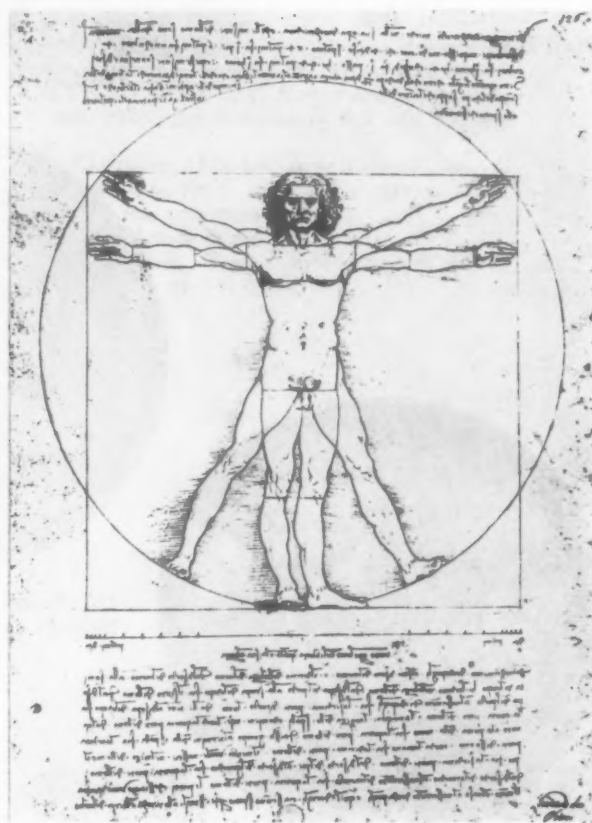


FIG. 4. Venice, Academy: Leonardo da Vinci, Drawing of Vitruvian Man

NOTES

JACOPO DE' BARBARI'S APOLLO AND DÜRER'S EARLY MALE PROPORTION FIGURES

BY ALICE WOLF

Dürer himself connected his early studies in proportion with the names of Jacopo de' Barbari, the North Italian engraver, and the Roman writer, Vitruvius, whose famous work on architecture¹ contains a passage about the proportions of a well-formed human figure.² The nature of these connections and their relation to the effect of Gothic methods on Dürer's early constructed figures is one of the much discussed Dürer problems.³ The chief aim of this essay is to call attention to a constructed figure by Barbari, the Apollo of the engraving B. 16, K. 14, its connections with Dürer, and, further, its debt to Leonardo da Vinci.

The Dürer material which has been discussed in the literature consists of a number of male and female figures most of which were collected by Ludwig Justi. Additional drawings were first dealt with by H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat.⁴ Justi demonstrated a system of construction which applies to all these figures with slight variations. He pointed to a system of straight lines and circles arranged around an axis the purpose of which is the indication of the posture, proportions, and some of the outline of the figure.

To these constructed figures belongs the so-called "Apollo group." An examination of its earliest examples, the Aesculapius (L. 181), and the two Apollos (L. 233, Fig. 1, and L. 179)⁵ shows, as Justi also pointed out:

1. Writing about twenty-three years later, Dürer recalls that in his youth Jacopo de' Barbari had shown him the figures of a man and woman which he had drawn according to a canon of proportions. Dürer "understood how such things could be done," but he could also "well observe" that Barbari would not explain "clearly" the underlying principles. So he set to work on his own and read Vitruvius "who writes somewhat about the human figure." Thus he took his start from Barbari and Vitruvius. See Dürer's drafts for his dedication to Pirckheimer of his *Four Books of Human Proportions* in *Albrecht Dürer's schriftlicher Nachlass*, ed. E. Heidrich, Berlin, 1910, pp. 252 ff.; also William M. Conway, *Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer*, Cambridge, 1889, pp. 165, 253 ff.

2. Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, translated by Morris Hicky Morgan, Cambridge, 1926, Bk. III, Ch. 1, pp. 73-75.

3. See Ludwig Justi, *Konstruierte Figuren und Köpfe unter den Werken Albrecht Dürers*, Leipzig, 1902; Hans Klaiber, *Beiträge zu Dürers Kunsttheorie*, Blaubeuren, 1903, pp. 14 ff.; Ludwig Justi, "Dürers Dresdner Skizzenbuch," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxviii, 1905, pp. 369 ff.; Arpad Weixlgärtner in his review of the edition of Dürer's Dresden Sketch Book by R. Bruck, in *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen*, III, 1906, p. 25; Erwin Panofsky, *Dürers Kunsttheorie*, Berlin, 1915, pp. 78 ff.; Hans Klaiber, "Die Entwicklung in Dürers theoretischen Studien," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxxviii, 1916, pp. 240 ff.; H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke Albrechts Dürers*, vol. 1 (*Der junge Dürer*), Augsburg, 1928, pp. 395 ff.; A. M. Friend, Jr., "Dürer and the Hercules Borghese-Piccolomini," *ART BULLETIN*, xxv, 1943, pp. 40 ff.

4. For Justi and Tietze-Conrat see note 3.

5. The "Apollo group" comprises in addition the Adam of the drawing L. 475 and the drawing of the so-called Bonnat Warrior, L. 351. The name "Apollo group" originates from the supposed connection of the group with the Apollo Belvedere

1. The measurements recommended by Vitruvius:
 - (a) the length of the head (from the chin to the crown) = $\frac{1}{8}$ of the total length;
 - (b) the length of the face (from the chin to the top of the forehead or roots of the hair) = $\frac{1}{10}$ of the total length;
 - (c) in the Apollo (L. 233) (Fig. 1), and the Apollo (L. 179) the distance from the chin to the under side of the nostrils = the distance from the under side of the nostrils to the middle of the eyebrows; the distance from the middle of the eyebrows to the top of the forehead (roots of the hair) is the same.
 - (d) the width of the shoulders = ca. $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total length.
2. Measurements which have probably to be interpreted as an emendation of a corrupt passage in Vitruvius⁶ and which are also used in Leonardo's Vitruvian man (Fig. 4).⁷
 - (a) from the level of the nipples (middle of the breast) to the crown = $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total length;
 - (b) from the pit of the throat to the crown = $\frac{1}{6}$ of the total length.
3. The crotch indicates the middle of the body, again as in Leonardo's Vitruvian man.

In the literature on the subject one characteristic of Dürer's early constructed figures has not been observed: either the outline of the figure in the finished work is intersected at certain points essential to the construction, by an object represented in the picture, or there is another way of pointing to the construction. In the Standard Bearer (B. 87) (Fig. 2), for instance, essential features of the construction can be discovered from Dürer's indications in the picture.⁸ The lowest point of the hip on the side of the standing leg is cut by the lower outline of the sword blade. The lowest point of the hip on the side of the free leg is indicated by the lower end of the handle of the sword. Through the exact middle of the line connecting these two points runs the central line of the abdomen linking the crotch and the middle of the waist line. For this and other features of the construction to which we shall refer one may compare Justi's reconstruction of the construction of the Apollo (L. 233) (Fig. 1). Proceeding further, if we describe a circle the center of which lies at the top point of the staff of the standard and the radius of which is equal to the length of the staff, the circumference touches the central line of the abdomen at the crotch. We obtain the middle of the waist line on the abdominal central line by describing a circle from the same center with a radius the length of which is equal to the length of the staff from

(see Justi, *Konstruierte Figuren*, pp. 5, 10). For the chronology of the group, see E. Panofsky, "Dürers Darstellungen des Apollo und ihr Verhältnis zu Barbari," *Jahrbuch der Königlich-preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xli, 1920, pp. 359-377.

6. The corrupt passage in Vitruvius runs: "From the upper part of the breast to the roots of the hair a sixth; to the crown of the head a fourth [of the total length]."

7. For the Vitruvian man by Leonardo see Figure 4 and *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. J. P. Richter, 2nd ed., London and New York, 1939, I, p. 255, No. 343.

8. That the Standard Bearer also belongs to Dürer's constructed figures has already been supposed, e.g., by Panofsky, *op. cit.*, p. 374, note 4.

the point of the staff to the ring around it. In the middle of the waist line, furthermore, ends the central line of the breast which starts in the pit of the throat. We obtain the direction of this line by connecting the top point of the staff of the standard and the middle of the waist line. The continuation of the same line determines the direction of the thigh of the free leg. Dürer also points to the vertical axis of the figure. It runs through a vertical dark line in the little stone below the figure. The vertical axis is cut by the upper outline of the small hillock. This intersection indicates half of the distance from the ground (calculated from the toe of the figure) to the crotch and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total length of the figure. In the Apollo (L. 233) (Fig. 1) the vertical axis is cut at the same point by the lower outline of the scepter Apollo is carrying where it passes behind the right leg (calculated, however, from the level of the heel of the figure). In the Man of Sorrows (B. 20) the left outline of the tree runs through the elbow of his right arm as if to point to the fact that the distance from the elbow to the shoulder joint equals the distance from the elbow to the top of the middle finger.⁹ This relation between the length of the upper arm and forearm has its analogies in the raised arms of the Aesculapius (L. 181), and of the two Apollos (L. 233, Fig. 1, and L. 179).¹⁰

The influence of the engraving of Apollo and Diana by Jacopo de' Barbari (B. 16, K. 14) (Fig. 3) on Dürer in matters of form has been stressed repeatedly.¹¹ The Apollo of this engraving shows, like Dürer's Aesculapius (L. 181), and the two Apollos (L. 233 and L. 179):

1. The measurements of Vitruvius:
 - (a) the length of the head = $\frac{1}{8}$ of the total length;
 - (b) the length of the face = $\frac{1}{10}$ of the total length.
2. The "emended measurements of Vitruvius":
 - (a) from the middle of the breast to the crown = $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total length;
 - (b) from the pit of the throat to the crown = $\frac{1}{6}$ of the total length.
3. In addition to the measurements above, Barbari's Apollo, like the Dürer figures, shows the following measurements:
 - (a) the pit of the throat to the middle of the waist = $\frac{1}{6}$ of the total length;
 - (b) the middle of the waist to the crotch = $\frac{1}{6}$ of the total length.

Consequently the measurement for the distance from the crotch to the crown, and again from the ground to the crotch = $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total length.

Both in Dürer's proportion figures, and in Barbari's Apollo essential points of the construction are pointed to. In the latter the lower border of the quiver cuts the knee of the standing leg so that the

distance from this stressed point of the knee to the lowest point of the hip = $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total length.

The circumference of the celestial globe, on which Barbari's Apollo stands, passes behind his standing leg. At the point where it cuts the leg on the inside, it indicates, as does the lower outline of the scepter in the Apollo (L. 233), $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total length calculated from the ground.

A curve passes behind the Barbari Apollo's free leg above the knee. The distance from the point where it cuts the leg on the inside to the lowest point of the hip = $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total length.

Another curve cuts the standing leg above the ankle so that the distance from the ankle to the lowest point of the hip = $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total length.

A third curve cuts the outstretched arm at the elbow so that the distance from the point of intersection with the lower outline of the arm to the shoulder joint = the distance from the intersection to the fingers. This curve has the significance of the left outline of the trunk in Dürer's Man of Sorrows (B. 20) which, it will be remembered, cuts the arm at the elbow with like result. Barbari also shows in his picture the straight lines of his construction which indicate the position of the body. Thus the line representing the upper half of the string of the bow leads to the pit of the throat and determines the direction of the head.

Coincidences in the measurements, listed above, of the Vitruvian Apollo by Barbari and the Vitruvian man by Leonardo (Fig. 4) show the influence of Leonardo on Barbari. Barbari's Apollo indeed represents in some respects an artistic version of Leonardo's theoretical Vitruvian man. Besides Vitruvius' directions which Dürer followed in his Vitruvian figures, Leonardo's drawing illustrates the following passage from Vitruvius:

"Then again, in the human body the central point is naturally the navel. For if a man be placed flat on his back, with his hands and feet extended, and a pair of compasses centred at his navel, the fingers and toes of his two hands and feet will touch the circumference of a circle described therefrom. And just as the human body yields a circular outline, so too a square figure may be found from it. For if we measure the distance from the soles of the feet to the top of the head, and then apply that measure to the outstretched arms, the breadth will be found to be the same as the height, as in the case of plane surfaces which are perfectly square."¹²

In Leonardo's drawing the angle between the horizontal and the line linking the top of the middle finger of the diagonal arm and the shoulder joint equals 23° . In his drawing, furthermore, Leonardo marked certain points essential to the proportions of his figure. By a line, for example, on the vertical leg at the knee he indicated $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total length calculated from the base, and by another line on the horizontal arm he marked the hollow of the elbow, the point from which he measured $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total length both to the end of the middle finger and to the pit of the throat.

Barbari's Apollo not only contains the measurements of Vitruvius and the other measurements com-

9. As H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat pointed out (*op. cit.*, No. 183) W. M. Conway had already observed that the Man of Sorrows was constructed.

10. See Justi, *op. cit.*, pls. II, III, and our Figure 1 from Justi's pl. IV.

11. See Panofsky, *loc. cit.*

12. Quoted from the translation by Morgan, p. 73.

mon to Dürer's and Leonardo's Vitruvian figures,¹³ for he also paraphrases Leonardo's representation of the Vitruvian man inscribed in a circle and in a square, and the indications of his construction must also be derived from Leonardo. The navel of Barbari's Apollo is the center of a circle, which touches the standing leg at the heel and the point of the arrow. The point of the arrow replaces the top of the middle finger of the fully stretched arm of Leonardo's Vitruvian man. The heel of Barbari's figure touched by the circle's circumference corresponds to the heel of the vertical leg of the figure in Leonardo's drawing which is also touched by the circle. The angle between the horizontal and the line linking the point of the arrow and the shoulder joint in Barbari's Apollo equals 23° , like the angle between the horizontal and the line linking the top of the middle finger of the diagonal arm and the shoulder joint in Leonardo's figure. The position of Barbari's Apollo, however, is different; his head does not touch the horizontal line as the head of Leonardo's figure does. Barbari's curve which cuts the hollow of the elbow of the stretched arm repeats Leonardo's corresponding indication; likewise the

13. In Barbari's figure, however, as in Dürer's figures, the middle point of the length of the body as well as the point on the vertical leg which marks $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total length from the base are each placed a little lower than in Leonardo's figure.

point where the sphere cuts the standing leg on the inside resembles Leonardo's mark of $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total length on the vertical leg.

From the connections we have established we may conclude that Barbari used Vitruvian principles in the construction of his Apollo which is, in all likelihood, derived from Leonardo's Vitruvian man. The constructed male figure which was shown to Dürer by Barbari¹⁴ was most probably a Vitruvian one and Barbari might have drawn Dürer's attention to Vitruvius' passage about a well-formed human figure. Barbari might also have communicated to Dürer Leonardo's emended Vitruvian measurements and the indications of construction which Leonardo had used in drawing his Vitruvian man.

Since the connections between Barbari and Leonardo are demonstrably so close, and since Dürer expressly states that in his youth Barbari had shown him figures which he had drawn according to a canon of proportions, it seems more likely that Barbari preceded Dürer in using indications of construction than vice versa. The definite answer to this question, however, must be postponed until we know more about Barbari's constructed figures and their chronology in relation to Dürer.

14. See note 1.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Editors called Professor T. M. Greene's attention to the letters written by Messrs. Venturi and Alford in the last issue of the *ART BULLETIN*, thinking that he might care to comment on their interesting discussion from his point of view of philosopher of art. Professor Greene has written the following letter:

In a review of Mr. Venturi's *Art Criticism Now* (*Philosophical Review*, LI, 6, November, 1942, pp. 612-614) I applauded his assertion that "without a strict concept of art, it is impossible for an art-critic to effectuate his judgment on a work of art, and [that] the concept of art is the result of aesthetic discipline" (p. 9), but I complained that he had himself failed in these lectures to formulate a "strict concept of art," citing as evidence his definitions of art and taste and his own use of these concepts. Mr. Alford's review of this book in the *ART BULLETIN* (XXIV, 1942, pp. 403-405), Mr. Venturi's answer, and Mr. Alford's reply (*ART BULLETIN*, XXV, 1943, pp. 269-272), again vividly illustrate the urgent need today for greater conceptual precision in art-criticism. I should like to underline this need by a brief, and therefore very inadequate, discussion of Mr. Venturi's and Mr. Alford's interesting controversy. My thesis will be that neither disputant has defined his basic concepts clearly enough to make his meaning unambiguous; that, as a result, the argument between them is inconclusive, even as regards the actual amount of disagreement between them; and that, finally, art-criticism is in a bad way when critics of distinction get themselves into such a confused argument and can find no way out. I shall try to address myself strictly to this thesis and shall ignore whatever in the review and the letters is irrelevant to it.

1. "Art" and "Taste." Mr. Alford does not quarrel with Mr. Venturi's definitions of taste ("the sum of the elements composing a painting") and art ("the result, the synthesis"), and interprets them to signify, respectively, "concern for the sectionalized aspect and concern for the whole." He does criticize Mr. Venturi for his failure, in his discussion of Impressionism and Abstraction, to abide by his own definitions and to concern himself with works of art as wholes. "These, be it noted," he says, "are discussions of cultural attitudes and artistic techniques, of matters which by Mr. Venturi's definition fall under the heading of 'taste'; they are not discussions of the quality of specific works of art"; and again, these are "discussions of 'taste' in strict accordance with Mr. Venturi's definition; for though it is nowhere acknowledged in this book, they are discussions of those elements of the work of art which are determined by its relation 'to its own period.'"

This, I submit, is a grave charge. Mr. Venturi is accused (and I believe, with justice) of becoming confused on what is, on his own analysis, the most basic distinction in art-criticism. That Mr. Venturi should have wholly ignored this charge in his reply is unfortunate. But more interesting is the question, *Why* is he confused on so crucial an issue? Is it not because his own definitions of art and taste are ambiguous? *Is* taste, as he conceives of it, "the sum of the elements composing a painting"? And *is* Mr. Alford correct in including, among these "elements," such diverse fac-

tors as "cultural attitudes" and "artistic techniques"? If so, *can* a work of art, e.g., a painting, be defined as "the result, the synthesis itself," of these and other diverse elements? In short, would it not be more correct and illuminating to define taste as a function of man's *total* discerning response to art, *both* to its "elements" *and* to the work of art as a whole? Lack of space forbids further questions on this point. All I can add is that Mr. Venturi's definitions leave me as confused as his own subsequent discussion shows him to be, and Mr. Alford's reference to "artifact images (call them works of art or what you will, according to your definition)" at least suggests that he too has found Mr. Venturi's definitions unsatisfactory.

2. "Good" and "Bad" taste. In his reply, Mr. Venturi accuses Mr. Alford (quite inexplicably and unjustifiably) of "ignoring the fact that there are good and bad taste" and of not believing it "fair to disapprove of a taste." He believes that "to make a severe choice in taste is today as necessary as ever." Mr. Alford indignantly repudiates this charge and proceeds, "my complaint against Mr. Venturi . . . was not that he preferred one taste to another, but firstly that the stated grounds of his cultural (*sic!*) preferences were unsatisfactory (he confirms these grounds in his reiterated demand for 'detachment from theoretical, moral, religious, economic purposes'); and secondly that there was not only a lack of any attempt to analyse the pattern and the origin of the taste he deplored but . . . neglect of all critical writings which did attempt to do so." Mr. Venturi's "stated grounds" were unsatisfactory to Mr. Alford because (a) the "detachment" which Mr. Venturi demands would exclude some, if not all, of the very "elements" which, on his own definition, constitute taste, and because (b) Mr. Venturi himself inconsistently abandons this detachment in his defense of Impressionism ("The consciousness of the dignity of the common man was the social background of Impressionism. It was a moral and social ideal, and it could become an aesthetic ideal; this was the reason why it could become good taste." Cf. vs. the 4th paragraph of Mr. Venturi's reply). Mr. Alford, deploring "the tendency to exclude the basic moral, religious, economic interests from a contemplative-expressive purpose that leads to the aesthetic anaemia of 'art for art's sake,'" defines bad taste as "the acceptance of heterogeneity as unity, the simple failure to distinguish between distractive addition and aesthetic integration." He adds that "in the elimination of distracting elements and the achievement of 'good taste' a very thin sort of quality may result."

Where does all this leave the innocent bystander? (a) Both Mr. Venturi and Mr. Alford are now using "taste" to signify the critic's response to, and judgment of, the work of art itself and the style, e.g., Impressionism, to which it belongs. (b) Mr. Venturi cites, as "examples of good taste" (not, be it noted, as contributing or conditioning factors of such taste), "keen sensibility, freedom of imagination, detachment from theoretical, moral, religious, economic purposes," and then himself abandons this detachment, as noted above. (c) Mr. Alford believes that this use of "purposes" begs the issue, condemns Mr. Venturi's plea for detachment, and defines bad taste (presumably not exhaus-

tively) as failure to distinguish between "addition" and "integration."

What concept of taste emerges from this argument? Is Mr. Venturi defending an art for art's sake position? And if he really favors detachment, *whose* detachment — the public's, the artist's, the critic's? In any case, how does his approval of "the consciousness of the dignity of man" harmonize with detachment? As regards Mr. Alford, *whose* excluding tendency is he deploring — the artist's, the critic's, or that of a whole society or culture? And how, quite specifically, would he relate a proper concern for basic moral, religious and economic interest with a sensitivity for aesthetic integration?

3. *The critic's task.* In his review Mr. Alford says that "to complain of the neglect of Impressionism, and of the over-valuation of abstract modes of art, without any reference to the conditions that have governed this change of taste, is surely critically shallow and sterile, however factually justified." Mr. Venturi replies, "If it is factually justified, it is not sterile." Yet he seems to acknowledge the validity of Mr. Alford's point by discussing with him the cultural sources of Impressionism and Abstraction. Do Mr. Alford and Mr. Venturi agree, then, that one task of the critic is to study the conditions that govern changes in taste? Or is this the responsibility of the sociologist?

Toward the end of Mr. Alford's letter we find two further suggestions. "It is useless to reiterate that 'this is not art' if your standards of what is or is not art — your definition of 'art' and evaluation of what you have defined — have already been rejected or deliberately abandoned by those you are addressing. You must attempt profounder or subtler or more drastic methods of *conversion* [my italics], and even then be prepared to find an irreducible difference in purpose and perhaps in philosophic foundation." These sentences raise two sets of questions.

(a) Is Mr. Alford implying that there *are* objective standards of taste, and that discussions of taste are directed to their discovery? Does he subscribe to Mr. Venturi's belief, quoted from the Preface to his *History of Art Criticism*, that, among "three or four critics' judgments of one work of art," though there may be "three or four standards of appraisal . . . there is only one true judgment"? If he does, how do he and Mr. Venturi believe critics can proceed to clarify their standards and to approximate to a more objective standard? Does Baudelaire's statement, to which both Mr. Venturi and Mr. Alford subscribe, that "la critique doit être partielle, passionnée, politique, c'est-à-dire faite à un point de vue exclusif, mais à un point de vue qui ouvre le plus d'horizons" seem to either to encourage less provincialism and greater objectivity in criticism?

(b) Is it the critic's responsibility, as Mr. Alford suggests, and as Mr. Venturi also seems to suggest in his whole approach to contemporary art and criticism, to "convert"? If so, *who* is to be converted — our society, or contemporary critics and artists? Is it the critic's role not only to pass judgment, and to analyse the conditions of bad art and bad criticism, but also to reform society by changing these conditions? If so, is he to make this attempt, as a critic, for the sake of *art*, or for the sake of *society*, or *both*? In short, should he

concentrate his attention, as *art-critic*, upon art and taste and upon the conditions that affect them favorably or adversely, or should he conceive of art as existing not for its own sake but for the sake of mankind, and therefore seek its improvement in order that it may more effectively enrich human life?

4. *The critic's historical perspective.* Mr. Alford cordially endorses Mr. Venturi's claim that "because the history of art aims at the understanding of a work of art as art, the final step in the history of art must be and is art-criticism" (*Art Criticism Now*, p. ix), and that "the focus of the wisdom of connoisseurship should be in the present, whatever it owes to the study of the past." Compare, in the light of this agreement, their quarrel in the concluding paragraphs of their two letters. Mr. Alford believes Mr. Venturi's criticism is vitiated by the fact that he is "a partisan of the recent past," implying that only a strictly contemporary point of view can be critically valid. Mr. Venturi denies the charge on the score that Rouault and Matisse, Marin and Weber "are as alive as Picasso, Braque, Léger and Tchelitchew. . . . They are contemporary. The only question is whether their contemporary taste is good or bad." To which Mr. Alford replies that Mr. Venturi is a partisan of the recent past because the average age of the four painters he defends is 70.

What, I ask, does all this prove? Is the criterion of a painter's value his chronological age, or his still being in the land of the living, or his being "alive" in an artistic sense? If the latter, "alive" in the sense of expressing a contemporary point of view, or of more enduring human values and insights, or both? And must the critic, in order to speak to the present (as he manifestly should try to do), be part and parcel of the present in outlook, or is it his task to gain wisdom from an historical perspective and judge both present and past from a more objective point of view, and by reference to more objective standards?

May I, in conclusion, try to make quite clear my reasons for writing this letter. I am *not* trying to "show up" either Mr. Venturi or Mr. Alford. Both men are, I believe, the victims of the general state of art-criticism at the present time. *Nor* am I, as a philosopher, pointing the finger of scorn at art-critics. I have expressed in my book my own dissatisfaction with the state of contemporary philosophy of art, and no one who is living in so fragile a house of glass can safely throw stones. My *one* concern is to urge art-historians, art-critics and philosophers of art to take cognizance of the many basic problems which all three types of specialists have in common, to realize that their solution depends upon patient, protracted and *cooperative* effort, and to acknowledge the need for such cooperative action without delay. "Oh, don't talk about trouble!" said the Duchess." I would say rather, let us face the mess into which modern specialization has got us, get to the heart of the trouble, and see whether we can't do something to clear it up. I simply refuse to believe that these confusions are integral to the critical enterprise, or that good will, hard thinking, and real cooperation can't do a lot to improve matters.

Finally, I apologize to Mr. Venturi and Mr. Alford for not doing more justice to their positions, even as expressed in the review and the two letters. I also fully realize that I have offered no constructive solutions in

this letter for the problems which they seem to me to have raised.

THEODORE M. GREENE
Princeton University

SIR:

Students of Giotto are indebted to Professor Frank Jewett Mather for his article, "Giotto's St. Francis Series at Assisi Historically Considered," in the ART BULLETIN for June, 1943. Professor Mather is correct in saying that historical evidence confirms the attribution to Giotto of the St. Francis Series. And I recall with pleasure that many years ago I emphasized the same point in opposition to the opinion of Rintelen (*L'arte*, 1918, pp. 229 et seq.).

Perhaps the intuition of the connoisseur is of more value than Professor Mather believes. But he is right in his statement that this intuition must integrate and interpret historical evidence, and not contradict. If connoisseurs would recognize that their first consideration should be aesthetic problems arising from history rather than simple statements of fact, many endless discussions would be avoided.

However, historical facts must be ascertained, and one of the most important duties of an historian is the rejection of legends. Unfortunately, Professor Mather has weakened his correct thesis by accepting a legend—the date of 1298 assigned to Giotto's work in Rome. He says: "By early spring of 1298 it is as good as certain that Giotto was called to Rome to execute the mosaic of the Navicella for the forecourt of Old St. Peter's" (p. 104). My above-mentioned article in *L'arte* demonstrated that there is no document to support this date of 1298; that this date was probably invented at the beginning of the seventeenth century to give greater importance to the Papal Jubilee of 1300.

Furthermore, Mr. Pietro Fedele (*Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, xli, 1918, pp. 358 et seq.) added that in 1298 no one could have thought of ordering a work of art for the Jubilee because we know that the Jubilee was not planned until February, 1300. Finally, Mr. Luigi Chiappelli (*L'arte*, 1923, pp. 132 et seq.) published a notarial document of 1313-1314, from which it appears that Giotto spent some time in Rome a few years prior to the document, that is, about 1310. Both of Giotto's works in Rome, the *Navicella* and the polyptych now in St. Peter's museum, were commissioned by Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi who was in Rome about 1310.

These, and these only, are the historical facts pertaining to Giotto's activity in Rome, and they cannot be changed at will to prove otherwise. Therefore, after reading Professor Mather's statement that the St. Francis Series in Assisi, which he dates 1298, "was a hurry-up job, interrupted by Giotto's departure for Rome, and intended to edify the influx of pilgrims bound for or from the Papal Jubilee of 1300 at Rome," I must assert that it is not history, and that it lacks even the support of the intuition of the connoisseur.

LIONELLO VENTURI
New York City

After reading this letter, Professor Mather wrote the following reply:

SIR:

I naturally read Dr. Venturi's article most carefully when it appeared, reviewed it at least three times in my Princeton seminar with groups of competent graduate students, and have just finished re-reading it, perhaps for the fourth or fifth time. With all admiration for Dr. Venturi's ingenious arguments, they have failed to convince me. His case rests on the following inferences:

1. That Filippo Villani, in his famous passage on the attraction of the *Navicella* for pilgrims, was thinking rather of pilgrimages and papal jubilees in general than of the jubilee of 1300 which his uncle Giovanni Villani had described at length in his *Storia*. The exact words of Filippo Villani are that Giotto made the mosaic so that those flowing into the city from the whole world in times of indulgence should make a spectacle of him (Giotto) and of his art, *ut . . . de se arteque sua spectaculum faceret*. That is, Giotto, whom Filippo Villani's father and uncle knew, made the *Navicella* to impress pilgrims at a jubilee or jubilees. The passage may mean either an imminent jubilee, that of 1300, or any or all jubilees in a faraway future. Which is the likelier interpretation?
2. That such competent seventeenth century antiquaries as Mancini and Torrigio deliberately invented a false date, 1298, in order to magnify a jubilee three hundred years past.
3. That Riccobaldo, writing about 1310 in faraway Ferrara or Ravenna about Giotto, must necessarily have mentioned the *Navicella* had it then existed.
4. That so important a plan as the Jubilee formally announced February, 1300 (New Style), a plan involving elaborate material preparations for the influx of hundreds of thousands of pilgrims, was not conceived long before the announcement and was not common knowledge among the higher secular and religious for some years earlier, any time after Boniface VIII's election in 1294.

Having discussed most of these *caveats* in my article, I must not waste your space by repeating my arguments.

Since both Dr. Venturi's position and mine rest not upon direct evidence, but on inferences, the question is simply whose inferences come nearest to being a demonstration. Here the decision rests with the competent reader.

The date of the *Navicella* is, after all, a very minor point in my argument for Giotto's authorship of the St. Francis series. On my main contention I am gratified to have Dr. Venturi's weighty assent.

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.
Washington Crossing, Pa.

SIR:

Professor Mather's article on "Giotto's St. Francis Series at Assisi Historically Considered," in the June issue of the ART BULLETIN, not only proposes to settle the question of Giotto's authorship of the Assisi frescoes, but to redefine the history of art by excluding from it the criticism of style. I will leave to authorities on Giotto the task of refuting Professor Mather's arguments (a task which will truly be hope-

less, if the evidence of the trained eye is to be excluded), but I should like to attack some of Professor Mather's statements on method.

Although nobody has ever succeeded in defining to everyone's satisfaction just what is a work of art, at least all will agree on one thing: that it is an object constructed purposefully by the artist to appeal to the sight of the beholder, and thus intended to be apprehended visually. This is so axiomatic that it is surprising to find Professor Mather accusing the style critics of falling "into the methodological error of putting last things first. For in any historical account of what happened in the past the utilization of all relevant documentary and traditional evidence rightly has preference over mere hypothesis and intuition of stylistic difference." And he continues, "I plead for a sound historical approach (which would include the factual part of archaeology) to our problems."

It is sadly obvious that Professor Mather does not grasp the root of the entire matter, which is: that the work of art itself is the most important "fact" with which the art historian has to deal, and all other kinds of evidence must inevitably be ancillary to it. In dealing with a visual object, the trained eye must be the first and most conclusive tool, not merely a last resort when other evidence is lacking. Everything written *about* a work of art is adjectival; the work itself is the substantive. Professor Mather would put us in the position of believing every type of evidence, in dealing with visual data — except the evidence of our eyes!

Let us suppose that a physician is called in to examine a small boy with spots on his midriff. The child's mother recalls that last week, he played with the little Jones boy down the street, who has since developed measles. According to Professor Mather, the doctor should instantly conclude, on the basis of this case history, that the small boy has measles. But what if, in his examination, the spots appear to him merely as hives? Would Professor Mather have him declare for measles, on the basis of the "historical" evidence, or would he permit the experienced doctor to rely instead on "intuition"? But what is "intuition," in such a case, but recognition based on long observation of the different colors and shapes of the spots produced by measles, hives, and poison ivy?

In the past few months, I have been working in the Intelligence Division of the Army Air Forces, and have been interested to observe how certain methods employed there parallel those used by the art historian. Both types of work require one to deal continually in two kinds of evidence — written documents and visual data, which must constantly be evaluated and balanced one against the other. The documentary evidence is frequently of a most circumstantial nature and worthy of being adjudged reliable, on the basis of the opportunity of the informant to observe, his intelligence, and his motive in transmitting the data. For example, the evidence, smuggled through the underground, may be that of a Polish laborer who has been working for several months in a munitions factory now under Axis control. He will describe minutely the position of the plant, its distance from railroads, rivers, or other landmarks, the number and construction of the buildings, capacity of warehouses, and the like. The visual evidence at hand by which we can control

his statements consists of aerial reconnaissance photographs. It might surprise Professor Mather to know how frequently the written description differs from the interpretation of experts trained in Photo Intelligence, in respect to judgments of position, distance, size, and capacity. I trust that I am neither violating military secrecy nor shocking Professor Mather unduly by revealing that in such cases of disagreement, the Air Forces will prefer to rely on the interpreters of the photographs.

Not to labor the point, the same is true in legal evidence. Hugo Muensterberg and others have taught us much on the fallibility of eye witnesses. Our courts admit the "intuitive" evidence of ballistic experts, handwriting experts, fingerprint experts, and the like. True, as Professor Mather will hasten to point out, experts may disagree. In that case, it is up to the jury to decide which demonstration has on the whole been most convincing, and which line of reasoning most persuasive.

Is it only in dealing with works of art that Professor Mather would have us debar such "intuitive" knowledge? To rule out of any branch of human knowledge the use of skilled powers of observation, is to reverse the course of the progress of learning during the past few centuries, in favor of an atavistic appeal to authority and established tradition.

Moreover, it seems to be latter-day connoisseurs only whose judgment on matters of style Professor Mather would discredit as evidence. For he grants to Ghiberti, his second major source on the authorship of the St. Francis frescoes, sufficient powers of observation to discern the difference between Giotto's hand and the work of others. Why, inquires Professor Mather, did Ghiberti write that Giotto "*dipinse quasi tutta la parte di sotto*," instead of writing "*tutta*"? "Because," he is careful to explain (pp. 102-103), "Ghiberti, over four centuries before Cavalcaselle, saw that three or four of the frescoes of the St. Francis Series are in a different style from the rest. In short, he was aware of the over-tall figures, the tiny ineffective extremities, the spindling architecture of the frescoes often ascribed to the Master of St. Cecilia." Further, Professor Mather tells us, Ghiberti's use of *quasi tutta* is proof that he is referring to the frescoes of the Upper and not those of the Lower Church, since "less than half the decoration of the Lower Church would have looked Giottoesque to as good an eye as Ghiberti's" and had he been referring to these "he would have written about half — *quasi la metà*, or a large part — *gran parte*."

Now, Professor Mather is at perfect liberty, if he likes, to concur in Ghiberti's judgments of style rather than those of Rumohr and the other modern authorities whom he cites disparagingly. But he cannot imply that the distinction here made by Ghiberti, which is based on what he saw and not on what he read or was told, is evidence of a fundamentally different "historical" order, and hence more cogent, merely because Ghiberti wrote in the fifteenth century! Nor can he logically deny to modern style critics the same right as he concedes Ghiberti, to evaluate and interpret the evidence of direct observation.¹

1. I am indebted to Professor Millard Meiss of Columbia University for pointing out to me this particular fallacy in Professor Mather's reasoning.

Professor Mather is quite right, of course, in stressing the importance of historical accounts, documents, and traditional attributions. Yet the use of these, also, cannot be indiscriminate but requires extreme caution and judgment. I believe that in his article, he has violated certain historical principles. I should like to point out what seem to be major fallacies in his employment of historical evidence.

1. In discussing the Riccobaldo notice, Professor Mather refers to what he specifically terms a "convincing suggestion" of Schmeidler's that Riccobaldo derived his information on Giotto from the Franciscans of Ravenna, whose books Riccobaldo, in his preface, says that he has consulted. Professor Mather then proceeds to forget that this *was* merely a suggestion of Schmeidler, and throughout the remainder of his argument treats it as if it were an established fact. Without further ado, he thereafter five times refers to "Riccobaldo's Franciscan informants at Ravenna" (pp. 99, 100, 101), thus presenting the reader with a dangerous confusion of hypothesis and proved fact.

2. Professor Mather, still on the question of Riccobaldo's credibility, makes the dogmatic statement that, "It is out of the question that in Giotto's lifetime there should be confusion between Giotto's work and that of a pupil and imitator" (p. 100). The corollary of this is, that any evidence which is contemporary deserves automatically to be accepted for that reason alone, regardless of the competence of the witness. Now, Riccobaldo was, after all, a chronicler; he was not specializing, as did Ghiberti, Vasari, and the Anonimo Magliabechiano, in the biography of artists. If Professor Mather were to be consistent in this respectful attitude to contemporary sources, he would have to give, let us say, a casual reference to Picasso's work in John Gunther's *Inside Europe* all the credence he would accord to a full-dress catalogue of the artist issued by the Museum of Modern Art.

3. Professor Mather surely violates a basic tenet of the correct use of historical sources in dealing with Vasari's notice on the Assisi frescoes (p. 104). He accepts implicitly Vasari's testimony on Giotto's authorship of the frescoes, their position in the nave of the Upper Church, and their dating in the generalate of Fra Giovanni di Muro; but Vasari's location in the Upper Church of four additional legends of St. Francis, actually in the Lower Church, he blandly dismisses as "a pardonable slip of memory . . . such a slip should not be too harshly reprehended"! One wonders how this juggling of a source would be justified by Professor Mather as sound historical method. To pick and choose just which parts of the same notice one will accept without question, and which one must disregard, is surely a flagrant exemplification of the very subjective "intuition" which Professor Mather so decries in dealing with judgments of style.

So much for Professor Mather's handling of "historical" data. At the outset, I stated that I would confine myself to a discussion of the points he raised on methodology. There is one general statement in his stylistic argument, however, which is so remarkable in its implications that I cannot overlook it. In considering the difference between the Assisi and the Padua series, he writes (p. 110), "The syncopated and symbolic properties at Padua are proper to the subject

matter, indeed *inevitable when illustrated guides to the Holy Land were not available*, while the recognizable churches, bird's-eye views, and rocky crags were equally proper to the legends of St. Francis. Indeed, would any artist working in the Basilica of the order, and at the Saint's birthplace have been permitted in the interests of esthetics and future style critics to stylize out of recognition the familiar setting of the Saint's activity?" (Italics mine.)

We must, according to this, revolutionize all our ideas of medieval esthetics. It was, apparently, a nice sense of archaeological decorum which led artists of the Dugento and Trecento to use symbolic and stylized properties for scenes laid in the Holy Land, rather than invest their backgrounds with the rich detail of a Carpaccio or a Gentile Bellini! We challenge Professor Mather (or anyone else) to explain, then, how it happens that the thirteenth-century painters of the Franciscan legend, who were even closer in date to the saint himself than was the artist of the Assisi frescoes, came to use properties which were still more syncopated, rather than being more circumstantial and recognizable? If stylistic predilection has nothing to do with the case, how explain Siena's early experiments in realistic landscape, while Florence adhered to neutral backgrounds? Or can Professor Mather adduce any evidence to sustain the thesis — a logical enough deduction from his statement — that natural landscape backgrounds in Italian monumental art appeared first in scenes dealing with contemporary, or nearly contemporary events, and conversely were not used till a later date for subjects laid in remote lands or epochs?

The history of art, I believe, is not so narrow a branch of knowledge as Professor Mather would persuade us. It involves the use of many kinds of evidence; and to exclude any of them is both arbitrary and fallacious. Surely the historian of art is he who knows precisely how to handle, in addition to other methods, those very tools which are peculiar to his branch of learning and which distinguish it from other sorts of history. One who disregards the evidence implicit in the work of art, and chooses to ignore the fundamental truth that style is, in itself, an historical fact, may be an archivist, or possibly an historian specializing in materials on art; but he is not an art historian.

HELEN M. FRANC
Washington, D. C.

After reading this letter Professor Mather wrote the following reply:

SIR:

To any careful reader of my article it will be clear that Miss Franc, evading my major arguments, is conducting a guerrilla, peripheral attack on my minor positions. To such a reader it will be equally clear that she has either misrepresented or misunderstood the secondary positions she has chosen to attack.

One example of many: Miss Franc feels that in writing that Giotto had "Franciscan informants" I slip reprehensibly into stating a hypothesis as a fact. This is a rhetorical quibble. At the outset I stated that the view that Riccobaldo got information from the Ravenna Franciscans was a hypothesis. This statement in ordinary writer's usage carries through my few subse-

quent mentions of these Franciscans. It did not seem morally necessary or rhetorically desirable to repeat at each mention what I had already admitted once for all. How compelling Schmeidler's hypothesis is, Miss Franc might have learned had she taken the trouble to read Schmeidler's monograph and Riccobaldo's preface. Riccobaldo says that having conceived the idea of a chronological history at Ravenna, he read some of their books in preparation, and that he was in close association with their canons (the senior and more learned friars) both in the church and in their homes (*in laris*). Is Miss Franc prepared to maintain that in such association Riccobaldo, with a new book on the stocks, never talked shop?

The case shows very clearly Miss Franc's really extraordinary capacity for blinking main issues. Broadly speaking, it really doesn't matter from whom Riccobaldo got the material for his Giotto notice. The question is simply: Was anybody likely to have or give false information about the location of the main works of the greatest painter of his time? Suppose in my old diaries when I was not yet a student of the history of art, say about 1895, Miss Franc should read: "Puv

de Chavannes is a notable painter as his works at Amiens, Lyons, Marseilles, and Paris attest." Would Miss Franc feel bound to discredit such information because I was a rank outsider for art critics and historians?

Accordingly, I merely protest against Miss Franc's entirely unwarranted statement that I wish to "exclude style-criticism from the history of art." Realizing the extreme value and also the fallibility of style-criticism, I have merely sought to give it its order of application and importance in research, as secondary to historical evidence. That is my main contention. If Miss Franc had assailed it seriously, we might have had an instructive controversy. Since she chose otherwise, I leave my outworks to her tender mercies and to the observation of your capable armchair tacticians.

We should all be grateful to Miss Franc for supplying an admirable document for the evasory *malaise* of the dogmatically style-critical mind when confronted by inconvenient facts.

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.
Washington Crossing, Pa.

BOOK REVIEWS

GISELA M. A. RICHTER, *Kouroi, A Study of the Development of the Greek Kouros from the Late Seventh to the Early Fifth Century B. C.*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. xxi + 261; 133 pls. \$15.00.

This work, magnificently printed¹ in spite of war-time obstacles, is the long-expected result of extensive studies by one of the greatest connoisseurs of archaic Greek art. Already at the moment of its appearance it has the character of a classic of archaeology. The so-called Apollo or Kouros type, the nude, youthful male figure in frontal position, with both feet solidly planted on the ground, one leg advanced and both arms hanging down with clenched fists, is one of the leitmotifs of archaic sculpture. The importance of the subject, its concentrated yet comprehensive treatment, the author's unfailing thoroughness of observation, in most cases based on the examination of the originals, her lucid presentation of the facts and of her special point of view unite to make this publication an event in the history of archaeology. We have no other book on archaic Greek sculpture or any of its branches which combines detailed study and analysis with such far-reaching aspects of general development as appear in this work. The illustrations are generally very good, sometimes excellent and, in many cases, far better than any hitherto available.² Reproductions of the majority of pieces in Greece and the Louvre are based on fine photographs made especially for this purpose by Gerard M. Young.

The need for this book is obvious, if only because this group of outstanding monuments, of great importance for the general history of art, has not been subjected to a comprehensive scholarly study since the appearance of Deonna's basic corpus³ more than thirty years ago. Criticism of archaic Greek art has developed sufficiently in one generation to fully justify such an enterprise. But the moving frontier of archaeology, the opening up of new vistas as a result of excavations and incidental discoveries, is particularly conspicuous in this class of monuments. Of the 156 statues, statuettes and fragments which the author has selected for discussion, more than a quarter (44) have been discovered in the course of slightly more than thirty years. Some of the recently discovered works are published in this book for the first time with⁴ or without⁵ illustrations. Among the statues which have become known since the publication of Deonna's corpus are a

number of great masterpieces: the Metropolitan Museum Kouros (1), the head from the Dipylon (6), the Kriophoros from Thasos (12), the Munich Apollo (113), the Kouros from Anavysos (114) and Keos (120), and numerous fine bronze figurines. Five of the new marble statues of monumental size are well enough preserved to give an impression of the complete work including head and legs and this constitutes more than half the number of such well-preserved figures known at the time of Deonna's book. All of which goes to show how far our knowledge of archaic Greek sculpture has been enlarged in the course of a few decades. Instead of being compelled to assemble the new picture laboriously from heterogeneous and disparate publications, we may now survey the field on the basis of Miss Richter's book and proceed to connect it with other fields in the realm of archaic art.

The book does not aim to replace Deonna's corpus by an up-to-date catalogue and all-inclusive discussion of the known Kouros. Its concern is to trace the artistic development of this type on the basis of a very rich collection including all the important, well-preserved and qualitatively good examples and in addition many fragments which are assigned to a definite place. As everybody will readily admit, the most crucial and fundamental issue is the establishment of a chronology. Miss Richter has attempted to accomplish this primary task for the entire development of the Kouros type from the beginnings of monumental Greek sculpture in the seventh century B.C. down to the period of the Persian wars; as the terminus of her discussion she has chosen the year 485 B.C. Though it is true that the Kouros type proper had disappeared by this time, the rigid termination of its history in the year 485 is somewhat arbitrary. It leads to the exclusion of such works of the following generation as the "Kritios Boy" (illustrated, however, on pl. 130, and mentioned in the epilogue) and the bronze statue from Castelvetro; the slight turn of the head toward one side in these figures certainly represents a deviation from the traditional frontality; yet it is but another step forward within the established type. Indeed, if one were to adhere to the strict definition of the Kouros type given above, the majority of statues of the time from 515 to 485 with their detached and often actively differentiated arms should be excluded, too, and the end of the Kouros type would have to be dated around 515. However, bronze figurines with detached arms and varied gestures have been included for the earlier periods;⁶ they are rightly considered variations of the basic type made in a more flexible medium. Also included are stone varieties such as the Kriophoros from Thasos (12) and a statuette with outspread hands⁷ from Rhodes (22), or figures without differentiation of the legs (27, 46). But are these modifications less significant than a slight turn of the head? The Kouros type is the basic type which, with only secondary variations, dominates the earlier periods of archaic art. However, the

1. I find it rather disturbing that the notes are distributed at about equal height on each pair of opened pages, since the reader is often compelled to search for a note on the preceding or following page. It looks nice, but it is not practical.

2. An unfortunate exception is fig. 27, a poor reproduction of one of the greatest masterpieces, the Sunion Apollo. The plate with several views of the head of the Apollo from Piombino (pl. 123) is also unsatisfactory.

3. W. Deonna, *Les "Apollons archaïques"*, Geneva, 1909.

4. Figs. 124-126, no. 37 a very fine bronze statuette in the British Museum; figs. 346, 354, 355 a head in the Chalkis Museum.

5. A torso in Delos (no. 128) and two pieces in the Florence Museum: a torso (no. 154) and a very important statue (no. 61); the lack of illustrations of the latter, evidently the result of the chauvinistic restrictions which the Fascist government of Italy put on permits for publication of works of art in Italian collections by foreign scholars, is especially regrettable.

6. Nos. 17, 18, 41, 44, 90.

7. In spite of Miss Richter's argument on p. 91, I cannot accept the bronze statuette in Stockholm, no. 21, as Greek. Its strange mixture of mannerisms from various sources of archaic Greek art seems to me, as to Poulsen, to point to Etruscan manufacture.

dissolution of this type had already been achieved in the late archaic age. Actually, Miss Richter's book deals with the history of the quietly standing archaic nude male figure (which is invariably youthful).

The author has divided the development into six successive groups which follow a small number of "Forerunners" (chapter 4). One chapter is dedicated to each group; each is named after outstanding and well-preserved examples. They are: The Sunion group (615-590, chapter 5), the Orchomenos-Thera group (590-570, chapter 6), the Tenea-Volomandra group (575-550, chapter 7), the Melos group (555-540, chapter 8), the Anavystos-Ptoon 12 group (540-515, chapter 9), and the Ptoon 20 group (515-485, chapter 10). In each chapter, a general survey including sections on the historical background of the individual sites of provenance, on the chronology and on the anatomy of the specific group is followed by a descriptive catalogue of the individual works. This lucid arrangement combines a readable survey of the development and the basic argument with a kind of catalogue raisonné of the individual works of art. The first three chapters deal with the general character and use of the Kouros type, its technique and the development of anatomical rendering. A short "Epilogue" emphasizes the significance of this archaic development for classical art. The clear organization of the book is enhanced by elaborate indices.

As I mentioned before, Miss Richter's concern is primarily, if not exclusively, the establishment of a chronological system. It is hardly necessary to emphasize that an author of her experience, knowledge and conscientiousness leaves literally no stone unturned to achieve this goal. In the sections dealing with chronology in the individual chapters all evidence available for an absolute chronology has been exploited: literary sources, for which expert contributions were made by Marjorie Milne, inscriptions, with notes by A. E. Raubitschek, and comparisons with datable vases or sculptures of other varieties have been methodically used. The resulting absolute chronology is much more specific and, in many cases, differs widely from that of Deonna: on the whole, it is convincing and gives evidence of a considerable archaeological progress in this direction, in spite of the scarcity or outright absence of fixed data. From these sections a student will get a fine knowledge of the present state of methodical work in the history of art of this age. It is a kind of mathematical system, in which, given certain historical data as axioms, one proceeds to fit monuments into stylistically related groups; the system is acceptable as long as no contradictions arise. But it should always be remembered that it remains an intellectual construction which may lead to incorrect conclusions about individual works. The many imponderabilia of genius, changing speeds of development, differences between local schools and centers and provinces are so many pitfalls. From occasional remarks in the text it is evident that Miss Richter is fully aware of this situation. But according to her, "it is the style, not the individual that counts" (p. 10), meaning that there is no harm in dating a progressive work of an earlier artist too late; also, there is a "uniform and universal progression towards naturalism" (*ibid.*) which makes local differences unimportant as far as dates are concerned.

With these somewhat debatable issues, we approach the point of view which dominates the entire book. Along with the gradual (though quite irregular) freeing of sculpture from the block structure, a process about which Irma Richter has contributed some fine remarks (pp. 19-21), a naturalistic progress from abstraction to developed anatomical representation has long been regarded as an essential trend even in archaic Greek art and anatomical observations have already previously been used, though more or less vaguely, for purposes of dating. The novelty of Miss Richter's book lies in the systematic descriptive analysis of the anatomical rendering of each figure, head or fragment, and its subjection to a rigid criticism from the point of view of a gradually increasing knowledge of correct anatomical detail on the part of the artists: based on this criticism the single work is then given a definite place within this evolution; the groups have been arranged, with the additional help of the few chronological data, according to the degree of such knowledge exhibited. With this method a simple and fundamental formula seems to be available, an "exact" scientific yardstick for measuring the position of works of art in every phase of this period. According to Miss Richter's theory, such features as the indication of the inner caruncle of the eye, the *antitragus* of the ear, the swelling of the deltoid muscle, the correct number of divisions of the *rectus abdominis*, the lower placing of the inner *vastus* muscle above the knee and the higher placing of the inner *malleolus* of the foot, the understanding of the complicated direction of the bones of the lower arm in semipronated position, appear in the course of a gradual evolution so that no work in which they are present can be dated before a given moment. On the other hand, certain abstractions or halfway solutions gradually peter out in the course of this development and their existence, in turn, allows further attributions to a given period. This theory has been carried to its logical conclusion. The descriptions have deliberately been subordinated to it. They follow an anatomical scheme in every detail from head to foot and use standardized formulae. At least, that is the outspoken tendency, and statements about proportion, for instance, or the character of modelling are generally excluded, although the presence or absence of certain details indirectly implies that they are characteristic elements of the individual works or schools. However, the descriptions refer to the stylization of hair and include details about statue bases (a subject of special interest to the author which is discussed also in one of the introductory chapters, pp. 21 ff.). But primarily, indeed, and almost exclusively anatomical detail is the subject of discussion. One understands the author's enthusiasm about this system and the student who follows her deductions cannot fail to be impressed by them. In fact that enthusiasm is transferred to the reader thanks to the simplicity of the scheme and the lucidity of its presentation. Again, it has the beauty of a mathematical system which in itself is conclusive, as long as the axioms are accepted.

It is with regard to these axioms, not the faultless method of argumentation, that this reviewer, and possibly others, will have to make reservations. From Miss Richter's point of view, the Kouros type is a labora-

tory of anatomical study, a diagram into which generation after generation of sculptors inserted one detail after the other until after about a hundred years of gradual accomplishment all the essential anatomical forms had been observed. According to this theory, the process is a slow and determined approach, step by step. It has a teleological implication in the sense of a natural evolution: after all the details had been assembled in a slow metamorphosis which in the course of four generations of archaic sculpture moved toward this end, fifth century art proceeded with the study of the interplay of the entire organism and, for this reason, abandoned the established Kouros type which, up to that time, had been the model for gradually learning the details of anatomy.

Serious objections can be raised against this theory, in principle and in fact. Does art ever proceed in that gradual and methodical manner? In general one would deny it, but it seems, in Miss Richter's opinion, that the methodical and scientific mind of the Greeks caused the great exception of this unique evolution. The implication of academism is evident. But did not Greek art itself, even in its later more scientific periods, in the classical approach to the understanding of the organism as well as in the opening up of space, environment, and "realism" move on in a much more irregular and oscillating fashion? Polykleitos, for example, the forefather of the "scientific" approach, concentrated on the ponderation of the human body and on the clockwork of its functioning. Other artists in his period did not care for this aim and had a different emphasis, and it took quite a while until his influence was really felt. And he himself was less "naturalistic" in some aspects than other artists of his age. One might say that the archaic craft's tradition was more objectively coherent and unified. But the facts which emerge from Miss Richter's careful descriptions are sometimes disturbing in this respect. If one accepts all her dates, it appears that many works, particularly from the Ionic East, attributed to a relatively late phase on the basis of certain anatomical details, entirely lack other details which commonly occur in that group. In these cases, the artist's mind was evidently not directed toward exhibiting all the anatomical knowledge available in his, or even in an earlier, generation. In numerous instances a figure is dated on the basis of only one relatively advanced detail. On the other hand, there are admittedly works in which advanced features occur in an obviously early context. According to Miss Richter's opinion, these should be individual exceptions; yet, even if one accepts the rule, how many exceptions were there in one sense or the other? And how can we be sure that the piece which we want to date on the basis of the presence or absence of one or even several anatomical details is not one of these exceptions? In other words, these exceptions being more numerous than the establishment of the system would allow, how can we be sure that the entire development was not much more irregular and casual? There are other puzzling facts: for instance, the correct representation of the semipronated arm occurs very early in bronze statuettes; while in stone statues, according to Miss Richter's statements, it develops only gradually in the three latest phases. The issue may exemplify the problems involved: I count

fifty-two cases among the pieces discussed in which arms are tolerably well preserved. But in thirteen instances (of which five out of six are those of the latest phase!) the shape of the arms is generalized and no indication is given as to the degree of anatomical exactitude. Of the remaining thirty-nine monuments, twenty-two belong to the three first phases: of these nineteen show the lower arm in the incorrect supine position, but two bronze statuettes of the second period "anticipate" the correct semipronated rendering, while one marble work (the Delphian Twins) of the very first group already shows a compromise. No instance of the supine position is preserved from the three later phases, though these include six generalized monuments, leaving aside the majority of broken and fragmentary pieces where the arms are not preserved. Of the remaining examples twelve belong to the fourth phase: seven of these show the correct position, five a halfway solution. In the fifth period, three show the same compromise while only one correctly rendered example is preserved. Chance has it that from the last phase, too, only one clear instance of correct rendering, though no incorrect one, is preserved. One may conclude from these statistics that the convention of the supine position is common in the first half of the sixth century and disappears later, and also that the correct semipronated rendering occurs in numerous instances in later archaic art, along with an equal number of half-way solutions, though instances of these more advanced types occur occasionally in early periods. But it seems to me that, in this case, the evidence is against a slow, methodical, and all-inclusive progress in anatomical study (such as is indicated by Miss Richter in her tabulation of this detail on p. 39). Another interesting case is that of the indication of pubic hair which in many instances was painted and is no longer clearly recognizable in shape. Here, we meet with another problem. Early examples, like the Delphian Twins and a torso from Delos (no. 15), give a quite correct and simple representation of the triangular area. They are definitely more naturalistic, in this respect, than is the late archaic convention of a pelta-shaped ornament which lingers on, for some time, in the transitional period, while mature classical art returns to the simple triangular form.

These and similar observations give evidence of a rather vague approach to the problem of naturalistic detail on the part of the archaic artist, an approach within which the cubic block, the schematized pattern, the reduced rendering of anatomical detail on the one hand, and freedom of movement, naturalistic observation, richness of detail, on the other, remain in a continuous interplay. On the whole, there is undoubtedly a shift from the first to the second set of categories. Indeed, from Miss Richter's own statements, it would seem that the last phase of archaic art (515-485) which, in many other respects, too, is a forerunner of classical art, shows a sweeping movement toward freedom and anatomical exactitude and richness, as it does in vase painting. But, even in this period, the naturalistic tendency is intertwined with a taste for ornamental detail which in the case of the Kouros is expressed primarily in the treatment of the hair, but which altogether prevails in the Kore type. Before that age, naturalistic details appear occasionally, in conventionalized

patterns; they spread gradually and eliminate the earlier conventions. This reviewer does not deny that we are confronted with a gradual, though it seems somewhat irregular, development. However, he doubts the existence of a methodical preoccupation with naturalistic study which, at least in the earlier phases, would have been amazingly slow; therefore he also doubts a method of dating and grouping obtained exclusively on this basis. Although in a number of individual cases this criticism would lead to different dates than those proposed by Miss Richter, it does not entail sweeping changes in her chronology. This chronology is well anchored in other respects, too, and by stylistic and technical criteria which emerge from the descriptions and illustrations. Again, my discussion of the principles involved aims rather at emphasizing that this is a fundamental work which will form a basis for future discussion.

The fundamental character of this book is evident, also, in regard to a problem which has found growing attention during the last decades, namely the style and contribution of individual centers of art. Miss Richter, in a healthy reaction against the elaborate schemes of Deonna, Langlotz and others, takes an outspokenly sceptical stand. She refuses to accept more than the possibility of distinguishing between eastern (Island and Asia Minor) and western (Greece) trends; in the case of an alleged earmark of a Parian school of art, she has voiced strong and justifiable opposition on the basis of her own observations.⁸ This reviewer agrees that the attempt to differentiate between such centers as Sikyon, Corinth and Kleonai, all situated within an area of a few square miles, is obviously exaggerated. But the illustrations and a careful reading of her descriptions show that Miss Richter's sound arrangement of the individual works of art within each of the chronological groups according to their provenance reveals the existence of local groups (though imported pieces may occur here and there) and in many instances these groups exhibit characteristics, conventions, traditions of their own. They, too, condition the style of the individual work, and, on this new foundation, the possibility (with which each archaeological reader will undoubtedly play) of isolating more groups and local styles than the author admits seems promising. This task is, again, beyond the aims and possibilities of a review. I believe that Peloponnesian and Attic schools, at least, clearly emerge from this book in the very realm of the Kouroi, as do schools of the Cycladic islands, of the region of Samos and Miletos, of Rhodes and its vicinity. In Boeotia, the source of the considerable number of Kouroi from the Ptoon Sanctuary, and in Sicily and Southern Italy, where Kouroi only appear in the latest phase of archaic art, the situation is more complicated: magnificent as the individual works may be, these regions are definitely provincial in character, and their production shows a mingling of influences from the great centers.

A few practical suggestions may be made for a second edition: in spite of her scepticism, the author might decide to add references to doubtful attributions and to any definitely proposed dates in publications after Deonna, as well as to better and more detailed illustrations or different views of the single monu-

8. Pp. 150 ff.

ments.⁹ Otherwise, it is pleasant and advantageous to the reader that Miss Richter has not bothered to encumber her book with the usual useless citations¹⁰ of bibliography which add nothing to the argument.

These suggestions are made because this great book will be used as a fundamental tool of research just as it will continue to stimulate new approaches to the magnificent archaic art of the Greeks.

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ERNEST T. DE WALD, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint. Volume III: Psalms and Odes, Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1942. Pp. xv + 53; pls. LVIII. \$10.00.

This second volume of the important corpus of illustrated Psalters, which forms part of the series devoted to the illustrations of the Septuagint, appeared, with laudable speed, exactly a year after the publication of Vaticanus Graecus 1927. The work is done with the same painstaking care and accuracy, and the same general plan has been followed: history and description of the manuscript; description of the miniatures; summary of the different categories of miniatures.

The manuscript is dated ca. 1059. The dates given in the Paschal tables run from 1059 to 1090 inclusive, and it was customary to begin the Easter calendar with the contemporary year and extend it into the future. But though the date can thus be determined, there is unfortunately no indication of the place of origin of the manuscript. In the long dedicatory verses, written in gold capitals, the scribe asks aid for himself and for the possessor, adding that this book has brought "an excellent fame to the writer, God-written grace to the owner," but he gives no clue as to who they were or where they lived.

The illustration begins with the first folios where scenes from the life of David have been painted between the medallions framing the Paschal tables. Prefaces taken from various commentaries on the psalms by early Church Fathers come next, and these are interspersed with miniatures suggested by the text. In the second column of folio 17v., on which the dedicatory verses have been written, there are two miniatures from a liturgical cycle of Christ's life; the cycle continues on folio 18, with nine scenes occupying the entire page, and the last two subjects are painted on folio 18v., in the upper part of the frontispiece portrait of David. The Psalter proper, including the

9. G. Krahmer, *Figur und Raum in der ägyptischen und archaisch-griechischen Kunst*, Halle, 1931, pl. 3; no. 9: F. R. Grace, *Archaic Sculpture in Boeotia*, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, figs. 71, 72; no. 10: *ibid.*, fig. 69 and A. Della Seta, *Il nudo nell'arte*, Milan, 1930, fig. 36; no. 21: Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, Nürnberg, 1927, pl. 59; no. 27: *ibid.*, figs. 37, 38 and Grace, fig. 70; no. 33: *ibid.*, fig. 73; no. 36: Langlotz, pl. 59; no. 77: Grace, fig. 77; no. 78: *ibid.*, pl. 50; no. 79: *ibid.*, fig. 77; no. 81: *ibid.*, fig. 54; no. 101: Langlotz, pl. 78; no. 116: *ibid.*, pl. 91; nos. 148-150: *ibid.*, pls. 1, 5, 19, 35, 38, 64.

10. However, in the second edition, a more complete indication of titles of books, and of the place and date of publication would be desirable, particularly in the case of specialized studies and dissertations.

apocryphal Psalm CLI, occupies folios 19 recto through 449 recto; the text of the psalms is written in one column of each page, a catena of commentaries in the other. The general type of illustration differs from that of the two well-known groups of illustrated Psalters. The miniatures are neither full-page compositions, as in the so-called aristocratic Psalters, nor are they placed in the margins, as in the so-called monastic Psalters; they are invariably painted in the catena column and they are framed by narrow, ornamental borders. The odes, or canticles, are also accompanied by a catena of commentaries and the miniatures are again placed in the catena column. There are thirteen canticles (counting separately the two canticles of Moses and the three canticles of the Three Hebrews); the manuscript thus contains all the odes except the apocryphal prayer of Manasse included in some Psalters, as for instance the Vaticanus Graecus 1927.

The illustration is not of the highest artistic quality, but the type is interesting and unusual, for, instead of following the text of the psalms, the miniatures are based for the most part on the commentaries. The identification of the text sources has been greatly facilitated by the inscriptions which accompany the illustration. Mr. De Wald has transcribed these inscriptions; he has identified the commentaries from which they are taken and given the portion of the text of the psalm on which the commentary is based. Thus many a scene which otherwise would have been unintelligible becomes clear, though a few still remain unexplained. One might wish that, in these cases, the commentaries could have been identified, even if they do not seem to have provided the source for the miniatures.

A second unusual feature of the illustration is the absence of Old Testament scenes except those from the life of David. The Exodus scenes frequently referred to or recounted, especially in Psalms LXXVI, LXXVII and CIV, and which are so fully illustrated in other Psalters, are here omitted. The only exception noted by Mr. De Wald in his summary is the scene of Joshua fighting against the Philistines, Psalm XLVI; but a second should be added, namely the children of Israel wailing by the rivers of Babylon, Psalm CXXXVI, a scene which also occurs in the "marginal" Psalters.

In his publication of Vat. gr. 1927, Mr. De Wald had given a brief comparison with the "marginal" Psalters; it would have been interesting if the same method had been followed here, even though the detailed study of the Psalter illustration is to be undertaken in a later volume. A comparison with these manuscripts shows that the illustration of Vat. gr. 752 is fundamentally different even when the general character is the same, that is when the actual text of the psalms has been illustrated. For instance, among the many scenes from the life of David which accompany Psalms LIV to LIX there are only three episodes in common with the "marginal" Psalters: David being taken to Gath by the Philistines; the escape of David; the campaign against the Syrians. Iconographic differences occur even when the interpretation is the same, as in the last two scenes. Vat. gr. 752 only shows David being lowered from the window (fol. 183); the "marginal" Psalters also represent him fleeing. In the campaign against the Syrians a palace is set on fire

in the Vatican Psalter (fol. 186v.); in the Chludov Psalter (fol. 58) and in the Theodore Psalter in London (fol. 74v.), a town is burnt and there are also other differences in the general composition of the scene. In the miniature of the Vatican Psalter which illustrates the title of Psalm xciv: "A song of David when the house (the temple) was built after the captivity," two men with baskets on their shoulders are approaching a tower. In the Chludov Psalter (fol. 96) we see the actual construction of the house. Similar differences may be noted in the cycle of David's life illustrating the apocryphal Psalm CLI, both in the choice of the scenes and in the iconography of the episodes common to all Psalters. Others are due to misunderstandings or misinterpretations on the part of the miniaturist of the Vatican Psalter. For instance, in illustrating the title of Psalm LIII: "A psalm of David when the Ziphims came and said to Saul, Doth not David hide himself with us?", the miniaturist has represented Saul and two other horsemen waiting outside the city in which David is seen, hiding between two Ziphims. The Bible text to which this psalm refers specifies, however, that when Saul went out in pursuit of him, David "came down into a rock and abode in the wilderness of Maon" (1 Sam. xxiii, 25). The "marginal" Psalters (Chludov, fol. 52v.; London, fol. 67) have a simpler composition, which follows the text more closely: Saul is shown conversing with the Ziphims.

The scenes from the life of David comprise several unusual episodes, such as the bath of Bathsheba (fol. 162v.), David with two children, probably the sons of his adultery (fol. 164), which illustrate the "penitence" psalm (Psalm L). No text source can be found either in the psalms or in the book of Kings for a few other scenes: David crowned by Saul, Psalm CLI; Uriah pursued by Pharaoh, Psalm xxx, Pharaoh being identified by the inscription.

Mr. De Wald has pointed out the remarkable fact that "there are practically no New Testament scenes illustrating the psalter-text . . . in contradistinction to the practice in the marginal psalters and in Vat. gr. 1927." Among the few scenes of New Testament significance the most interesting are those connected with the Last Judgment. A fairly complete representation illustrates Psalm xi, the subject having been suggested by the commentary of the pseudo-Athanasius on the word *ὁ γδόνος* of the title. The composition is arranged in four tiers: Christ flanked by five angels and two tetramorphs is in the uppermost; below, two groups of hierarchs; in the third tier, the gate of Paradise guarded by a cherub and Abraham with the souls of the righteous; in the fourth, two groups of martyrs. The various elements of this composition occur in other eleventh-century works, notably in the Gospel from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. gr. 74 (H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI^e siècle*, pls. 41 and 81). The other miniatures have only certain details of the Last Judgment. The good thief welcomed by Christ into Paradise (Psalm xiv) occurs, as noted by Mr. De Wald, in the Hamilton Psalter for Psalm cxvii. A comparison with Paris. gr. 74 is again suggested by the group of sinners who are being pushed into the flames by an angel (Psalm vi), and by the resurrection of the dead (Psalm xn). The

figures stand in sarcophagi, draped in white shrouds decorated with geometric designs, like the dead in one of the Crucifixion scenes of Paris. gr. 74 (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. 51).

Other scenes worthy of note are those depicting the activity of St. Paul and the representation of Christ embracing St. Peter, which illustrate Psalms viii and x. Mr. De Wald points out that the prototype for these must have been some illustrated book of the Acts of the Apostles or preface pictures of the Epistles; that such illustrations existed is indicated by the miniatures of the ninth-century copy of the *Sacra Parallela*, Paris. gr. 923, where St. Paul is represented addressing the Epicureans, the Stoics and the Ephesians. Further evidence might have been adduced. In the eleventh-century Codex Ebnerianus at Oxford, Bodl. Auct. T, inf. 1, 10, episodes from the life of the Apostles are painted in the lunettes above the preface portraits of the Epistles. In the later period we have the detailed cycles of the Sicilian churches, especially at the Palatine chapel, obviously inspired by some manuscript, and the miniatures of the thirteenth-century Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament at Chicago.

The illustrations of the canticles differ in many respects from those of the "marginal" Psalters or the Psalters with full-page compositions. The miniature accompanying the first canticle of Moses is the most interesting (fol. 449v.). Fourteen richly dressed young women, with Miriam the sister of Moses as the central figure, are arranged in a large circle which fills the entire page. In the center of this circle stand eight musicians, each one carrying a different musical instrument. As Mr. De Wald rightly remarks, this miniature is "an unusual document reflecting the use of musical ceremony of the Byzantine church." The peculiar form of the composition "suggests that it was taken over from some object connected with liturgical use, such as tapestry, or embroidery, or even a liturgical plate."

The illustration of the second canticle of Moses is also somewhat unusual, though I doubt if it should be interpreted as Moses before the Burning Bush, as the author has done. It is true that he is untying his sandals, but the bush has not been represented and, furthermore, Moses is shown in this attitude in other manuscripts before receiving the Tables of the Law on Mount Sinai. This may be seen in the Vatican Bible, Reg. gr. 1, in a miniature which is very close to the illustration of the canticle of Moses in the Paris Psalter, and in the Berlin University Psalter for this same canticle (H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter*, London, 1938, figs. 65, 73). The composition of the Vatican Psalter must have been copied from an example such as these, but it has only retained the first scene, omitting the one which is more directly connected with the canticle itself.

The other illustrations of the canticles are not of any special interest. Though ten miniatures have been devoted to the canticles of the Three Hebrews, the variety is not as great as might be surmised, for the scene of the young men in the fiery furnace has been repeated three times. In the canticles of Isaiah and Habakkuk, the miniaturist seems to have borrowed his types from some illustrated book of the prophets; Isaiah and Habakkuk are represented standing full

face, holding an open scroll and blessing, instead of being turned sideways and praying as it is customary in the Psalters.

The portraits of a few saints have been included in the Psalter and one would wish to find some explanation for their presence and, in some cases, a closer identification. St. Silvester appears seven times and since, except in the illustration of Psalm xxxi, he is represented as a bishop, he is obviously Pope Silvester, commemorated by the Greek church on January 2nd. But it seems doubtful that the St. Silvester of Psalm xxxi is the Pope, for he is figured as a stylite. Tikkanen had suggested that the special attention given to St. Silvester might indicate that he was the object of particular devotion on the part of the scribe or at the monastery where the manuscript was written (J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, Helsingfors, 1895, p. 139, n. 1). If it were possible to find a monastery dedicated to St. Silvester, we should have a valuable clue for locating the manuscript. Tikkanen had also made a tentative suggestion for the selection of St. Silvester to illustrate Psalm XLIV. In the Greek liturgy the first verse of this psalm is explained as a reference to the commemoration of the seven oecumenical councils; by his participation at the Council of Nicaea, Silvester had defended the belief in the Godhead of the Son, which David proclaims in this psalm in a prophetic manner and this might explain his presence (*ibid.*, p. 140, n. 1).

The representation of St. Dositheos on folio 297v., Psalm xciii, also requires some explanation. The saint is seen addressing the sons of Korah from the top of his pillar, yet, so far as I have been able to determine, there is no stylite by that name. No St. Dositheos is commemorated in the Synaxaria; a brief biography has however been published in the *Acta Sanctorum* on February 23rd (Feb. iii, pp. 387-390). According to this account, St. Dositheos was a Palestinian monk, a pupil of St. Dorotheos; he lived and died at the monastery of St. Seridus, or St. Seridon, near Gaza. Another hagiographic problem is presented by the figure of St. Arethas, who is shown conversing with Heman and Jeduthun, two of David's singers. If he is the well-known bishop of Caesarea, the commentator of the Apocalypse (fol. 51), the title of saint is a mistake, for this Arethas was not canonized. There is a saint by the same name, martyred at Negran in Ethiopia in 523, but he was not a priest and in the Menologium of Basil II he is shown clothed in a richly embroidered tunic (p. 135). The identification of these saints is not merely a matter of hagiographic interest; it would be of some help in determining the place of origin of the manuscript.

A few of the interpretations may be questioned. I have already mentioned the miniature illustrating the second canticle of Moses; I should like to add two other scenes. On folio 20, at the top of the catena column of Psalm II, Christ, seated on a throne, blesses David prostrate before Him; the archangel Michael stands at the left as a sponsor for David. Mr. De Wald suggests that this miniature, and the ones before it which have been excised, may have illustrated Psalm I and represented a Second Coming or Last Judgment, since the last verses of Psalm I have been interpreted by the commentators as referring to the

Last Judgment. This would explain the figure of the archangel and the words of the inscription: "Christ pardoning David." But these words bring to mind another miniature of the Psalter and a different explanation for the presence of St. Michael. In the "penitence" psalm (Psalm 1) the idea of "pardoning" is implied, for, in the account of the events to which this psalm refers, Nathan says to David: "the Lord also hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die" (II Sam., XII, 13). The archangel Michael is always present in the illustration of this psalm. In the Vat. gr. 752 he is shown in bust, above David's head, but in other Psalters, for instance Pantocrator 49 and the Seraglio Psalter, he stands behind the prostrate David as he does here (Buchthal, *op. cit.*, fig. 53 and p. 28). The only difference is that in the illustration of Psalm 1 the archangel always bears a lance, but this composition may have served as a model for the miniature of Psalm 11, hence the presence of Michael.

The other miniature which, in my opinion, should be differently interpreted illustrates the explanatory preface to the Psalter by "Joseph and Theodoret." There are two scenes on folio 9, the first shows a man in classical garb conversing with a king; the figures, identified by the inscription, are Aquila, one of the translators of the Old Testament, and the emperor Hadrian. In the second miniature, a crowned figure and two men wearing tunics with a wide gold neckband are shown within a walled enclosure. The inscription reads: *κάστρον ἡ Σινόπη. [ἐρ]μηνεύσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Θείαν γραφήν.* Mr. De Wald identifies these figures as Aquila and two others, but though the mention of Sinope would suggest Aquila, who was a native of this city, the form *καὶ αὐτοὶ* and the costumes of the two men, different from the one worn by Aquila in the preceding miniature, indicate that we have here two other translators. Only the part of the text relating to Aquila has been transcribed by Mr. De Wald, but the name of one of the translators, Theodotion, and part of the text relating to the preceding translator can be read on the reproduction. The translators of the Old Testament are mentioned in the Synaxarium of Constantinople on October 15 in the biography of St. Lucian, presbyter of Antioch, who had published an edition of the Septuagint with corrections in accordance with the Hebrew text. By comparing the part of the Vatican text visible on the reproduction with this notice in the Synaxarium we can see that the other translator must be Symmachus. In spite of the designation of the walled city as Sinope, we have therefore not the portrait of Aquila, but those of Symmachus and Theodotion. The crowned figure must be either Severus during whose reign Symmachus lived, or Commodus, in whose time Theodotion made his translation.

Aquila and Symmachus, this time clearly identified by the inscriptions, are again represented on folio 187, in the illustration of Psalm LIX and, strangely enough, both figures are nimbed. It is quite possible that the prototypes of these miniatures came from some illustrated Synaxarium or Menologium. In the Menologium of Basil II the martyrdom of St. Lucian has been represented (p. 115), but the notice is very brief and only retains the part relating to this saint. In a more detailed biography, such as the one preserved in the

Synaxarium of Constantinople, the translators mentioned in the text might also have been represented.

These miniatures, as well as others which cannot be discussed in detail in a review, show how intricate is the problem of tracing the origins of the Psalter illustration. This will doubtless be examined in the volume devoted to the study of the illustration, but until this long-awaited work appears we are fortunate to have this handsome and scholarly publication of a Psalter which had remained comparatively unknown.

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MARGARETE BIEBER, *Laocoon, the Influence of the Group since Its Rediscovery*, Photographs by Ernest Nash, New York, Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. 2 + 48 (including 29 plates). \$1.50.

In the Preface the author presents the book as the result of the study of late Hellenistic sculpture, of the relation of Winckelmann, Lessing, and Goethe to ancient art, and of the illustration of lectures on ancient art. She believes there is a need for small books "to illustrate single important works of art with pictures and discussions from all possible angles," with a view to historical knowledge as well as the appreciation of art. The effect of the Laocoon on the artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is to be included.

To this program some nine thousand words of text and thirty plates, twenty of them full page, are devoted. The plates are excellent. Most of them give various views of the original and details. There are also engravings by Marco Dente, early bronze and marble copies of the group, a woodcut by Boldrini, and a wall-painting from Pompei of the Death of Laocoon and his Sons. The text begins with Pliny, tells of the discovery of the work in 1506, and gives the poem of Sadoletus as an example of the feeling of the period, when Michelangelo and others studied carefully the rendering of the muscles in the group. The marble copy by Bandinelli is said to have "intensified the muscles as well as the expression of the face in the baroque spirit." But when the plate showing it is compared with that of the original, the reverse seems true, so far as the muscles are concerned. The explanation, presumably, is that the original is photographed by Nash, the copy by Brogi. Winckelmann and Lessing are then discussed and quoted for half a dozen pages. Then comes Goethe, followed by Heinse and Blake. Leaving those in whom "the group incited a creative spirit," Miss Bieber goes to historians, Brunn, Murray, Mitchell, Gardner, Taine, Viardot; all of these except the last two are condemnatory. Then follow writers of the present, a time when "we can again be just to the Laocoon." Amelung is quoted with approval, and "against this deeply felt narrative description" is set the aesthetic analysis of Valentin Müller. The text concludes: "We moderns, with our analytical criticism, are likely to lose the feeling for the essential which the artists and the writers of the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries had. We therefore can still learn much today from them for the appreciation and enjoyment of art" (p. 22).

This assertion of the importance of the criticism of the past to that of the present, if we are to attain a

full view of a work of art, is obviously the idea behind much of the volume. It can hardly be too vigorously stressed. Every age will see and ought to see in poem or drama or statue or painting what is especially akin to itself and will make its own interpretations. Yet such interpretations are inevitably partial and defective; they may point out new and important aspects, but they equally neglect others. They can satisfy only newspaper critics, not those who aspire to a knowledge of what art or any work of art actually is. There is a provinciality of time as well as of space. The wider view must involve the views of all the ages. Even when the older critics seem quite wrong, they can at least give warning that perhaps the axioms of the present will be held equally wrong in a couple of centuries. Our natural inclination is to take our age as a norm of excellence; attention to the criticism of the past can do something to discourage that comfortable habit. Here, then, is much of the advantage of the historically-minded critic; he has an opportunity to approach a complete and adequate view of an object because he can see with the eyes of remote ages as well as his own. An end of the academic study of the arts is to supply a more complete view of a given work than can be had from the vantage point of our age alone. This function of critics and interpreters is close to one of the functions of art itself. When a work of the past brings man to us, it brings him — if, with the critic's aid, we have eyes to see — in a form unlike that to which we are accustomed. Man and his products seem somewhat different to us when we are not confined to our own age alone. The corrective and stabilizing power of art then comes into play. The present time has shown a strong tendency to turn away from the artist's ideas, yet from Renaissance art and criticism we learn, for example, that men of the highest artistic feeling have felt that art has a moral function. Such knowledge need not lead us for an instant to reject a purely aesthetic analysis; on the contrary the need and value of recent methods are the clearer when contrasted with very different ones. The student of the history of criticism can avail himself of both.

In so short a book, Miss Bieber can hardly do more than suggest the history of the criticism of the Laocoon; perhaps she might have commented further on what she does give, as well as considered somewhat more closely the reasons for selection. She does speak of the group as now considered "Hellenistic baroque," and as appearing more baroque to us than to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, thus implying a defense of Winckelmann and his contemporaries, as being so surrounded with examples of baroque art that "the Laocoon appeared as temperate in comparison" (p. 19). To such men the Hellenistic quality of the group offered no difficulty but rather made admiration easy, while for a more restrained art they had had no preparation. We for our part may ask whether the rehabilitation of baroque art is not still so recent that the Hellenistic qualities of the piece interfere unduly with our proper recognition of its merits. Being admired in the eighteenth century partly because of its baroque character, the Laocoon then exerted an influence on various artists. Somewhat the same is the career of the Senecan drama, which may be said to have been favored by the Italians and the Elizabethans even in

preference to the Greek because they were in a position to give it immediate admiration, since their taste was already Senecan.

It is regrettable that not more is done to carry out the author's intention of dealing with the early influence of the Laocoon. To the copies and drawings mentioned may be added that by Greco in the National Gallery, London (formerly in the collection of Prince Paul of Yugoslavia), and that by Giulio Romano or his pupils in the Sala di Troia in the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua. Among lesser representations that must have had some influence in forming the opinions of the ordinary man, may be mentioned those in guide books such as Parisio's *Aggiunta all' Antichità dell'Alma Città di Roma*, 1600, and Totti's *Ritratto di Roma Moderna*, 1638. It may be observed that in both of these the serpent is not actually biting the younger son.

On the influence of the group on other compositions, Miss Bieber remarks only that Titian copied Christ from Laocoon for his altarpiece in SS. Nazaro e Celso. It seems that there must have been other imitations. Because of its symbolic value (John 3:14) the brazen serpent of Numbers 21:6 ff. was a frequent subject of mediaeval and Renaissance art. In the twelfth century emphasis was put on the brazen serpent on the pole or pillar, even with the omission of the serpents that attacked the children of Israel.¹ In the fifteenth century serpents were shown crawling over victims who lie or sit, passive or dead, on the ground. In a Bible published at Cologne in 1478, one encircles the neck of a sitting man, but there is no struggle.² The Lübeck Bible of 1494 shows the victims all lying motionless.³ The Biblical narrative represents the victims as bitten or struck (*percussus* — Numbers 21:9). This perhaps justifies the crawling of serpents over the fallen, but not the struggle of a victim with a snake wound about him. After the discovery of the Laocoon that motive appears. Holbein merely represents a sitting figure who tries to pull the head of a viper away from him. A struggle, usually by standing figures, with the attackers, is shown by Michelangelo (Sistine Ceiling), Bronzino (Florence, Palazzo Vecchio), Ferraù Fenzoni (Budapest, National Gallery),⁴ and Rubens (London, National Gallery).⁵ All these contain figures that more or less clearly, but still irresistibly, suggest the Laocoon. Apparently all these artists were struck with the similarity of the stories in which deadly serpents are divinely sent for the punishment of the offending. The serpents attacking the Israelites are represented as relatively small, as though in deference to their great num-

1. E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII^e siècle*, Paris, 1922, pp. 156, 161; Charles R. Morey, *Mediaeval Art*, New York, 1942, p. 268, fig. 100. For a later example see *Biblia Pauperum*, ed. Paul Kristeller, Berlin, 1906, pl. xxiii.

2. Helen S. Estabrook, *Seventy Stories of the Old Testament Illustrated with Representations of Master Woodcut Artists of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Portland, Maine, 1938, p. 62.

3. Max J. Friedländer, *Die Holzschnitte der Lübecker Bibel von 1494 zu den 5 Büchern Mose*, Berlin, 1918, pl. 47.

4. Sketch for a fresco in the Scala Santa, Rome (Hermann Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz*, Berlin, 1920, II, 507).

5. Cf. also a 16th century engraving in Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge*, Paris, 1925, p. 287.

bers, while on the shore of Troy appeared only two huge sea-serpents able both to bite and constrict, as in the sculpture (*Aeneid* 2.214-221). The drawing by Fenzoni especially suggests imitation. A nude man is encircled and bitten by a snake which he endeavors to tear away from himself; his head is thrown back in agony and his mouth open, somewhat wider than in the Laocoon. Imitation by Rubens is not strange, since he was otherwise an imitator of the statue.⁶

Poetic influences on pictures of the Brazen Serpent need not be forgotten. There is Virgil, and Lucan as well, who, writing of the snakes of Africa, addresses the dragons:

Rumpitis ingentes amplexi verberare tauros (*Pharsalia* 9.731).

Dante in *Inferno* 25 tells of the serpents that bound Vanni Fucci tight. One of Pulci's heroes saw a combat between a griffon and a snake:

Ma quel grifone al fin resta perdente,
Perchè il serpente gli avvolte la coda
Un tratto al colle, e con essa l'annoda (*Morgante* 21.109).

Such passages might have made it easier for painters to present serpents against whose enfoldings men struggle, but, without the Laocoon, they seem hardly to account for the theme in Renaissance and baroque art.

In the eighteenth century the poet Thomson described the group, whose agonies so touch the heart of the beholder that

Almost unmarked the best proportions pass
That ever Greece beheld (*Liberty*, iv, 393-394).

In the nineteenth, Byron wrote of

Laocoön's torture dignifying pain —
A Father's love and Mortal's agony
With an Immortal's patience blending (*Childe Harold*, iv, clx).

Shelley's account of the group in 1819 shows the admiration for it of a period passed over, save for Blake's engraving, by Miss Bieber:

"The subject of the Laocoön is a disagreeable one, but whether we consider the grouping, or the execution, nothing that remains to us of antiquity can surpass it. It consists of a father and his two sons. Byron thinks that Laocoön's anguish is absorbed in that of his children, that a mortal's agony is blending with an immortal's patience. Not so. Intense physical suffering, against which he pleads with an upraised countenance of despair, and appeals with a sense of its injustice, seems the predominant and overwhelming emotion,

6. Charles Sterling, "La découverte et l'histoire d'une oeuvre inconnue de Rubens," in *L'amour de l'art*, xviii (1937), pp. 285-292. The "copie ancienne d'un dessin de Rubens" in the Copenhagen Museum when compared with Mr. Nash's photographs appears more clearly a drawing from the statue than in the photograph given by Mr. Sterling.

Professor Walter Friedlaender has given me this reference and other assistance.

I hope in the future to deal more fully with the influence of the Laocoon.

and yet there is a nobleness in the expression, and a majesty that dignifies torture.

"We now come to his children. Their features and attitudes indicate the excess of the filial love and devotion that animates them, and swallows up all other feelings. In the elder of the two, this is particularly observable. His eyes are fixedly bent on Laocoön — his whole soul is with — is a part of that of his father. His arm extended towards him, not for protection, but from a wish as if instinctively to afford it, absolutely speaks. Nothing can be more exquisite than the contour of his form and face, and the moulding of his lips that are half open, as if in the act of — not uttering any unbecoming complaint, or prayer or lamentation, which he is conscious are alike useless — but addressing words of consolatory tenderness to his unfortunate parent. The intensity of his bodily torments is only expressed by the uplifting of his right foot, which he is vainly and impotently attempting to extricate from the grasp of the mighty folds in which it is entangled.

"In the younger child, surprise, pain, and grief seem to contend for mastery. He is not yet arrived at an age when his mind has sufficient self-possession, or fixedness of reason, to analyse the calamity that is overwhelming himself and all that is dear to him. He is sick with pain and horror. We almost seem to hear his shrieks. His left hand is on the head of the snake, that is burying its fangs in his side, and the vain and fruitless attempt he is making to disengage it, increases the effect. Every limb, every muscle, every vein of Laocoön expresses, with the fidelity of life, the working of the poison, and the strained girding round of the inextricable folds, whose tangling sinuosities are too numerous and complicated to be followed. No chisel has ever displayed with such anatomical fidelity and force, the projecting muscles of the arm, whose hand clenches the neck of the reptile, almost to strangulation, and the mouth of the enormous asp, and his terrible fangs widely displayed, in a moment to penetrate and meet within its victim's heart, make the spectator of this miracle of sculpture turn away with shuddering and awe, and doubt the reality of what he sees" (*Notes on Sculptures*, II).

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ERIC SCHROEDER, *Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1942. Pp. xiv + 166; 30 pls. \$5.00.

This is not only a catalogue raisonné of the thirty Persian paintings in the Fogg Art Museum, but an introduction to the study of Persian painting from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. As such, it is designed for students, but it will be indispensable also for specialists; the price, remarkably low in view of the high quality of the plates, will make it readily available. This is, probably, the best introduction to Persian painting that has yet appeared; neither an ABC nor an encyclopedia, it is neither too literary nor too archaeological. The transliteration adopted is that of the Royal Asiatic Society without diacritical marks. We think it might have been better to differentiate the long and short vowels, as a guide to pronunciation; but

in this review, I follow Dr. Schroeder's example. In one case there is an infringement of the rule, where (p. 17) Quasim is printed for Qasim.

Fourteen introductory pages to the catalogue raisonné present an excellent discussion of the relation of Persian to Chinese painting. "Classic" Persian painting (ca. 1390-1570) developed only when the chinoiserie of the Demotte *Shahnama* (here and on p. 37 attributed to the third quarter of the fourteenth century) had been transformed into "a decorative vocabulary fit for normal Persian use."

Dr. Schroeder strongly emphasizes decorative quality as one of the outstanding elements of Persian painting. Indeed, it would seem to this reviewer that altogether Dr. Schroeder is inclined to overstress the secular character of Persian painting (pp. ix-xi). He says it must not be "misinterpreted as the world of a mystic's vision." But if the world of Persian painting is in a sense a glorified world in which there is nothing ugly but only what one could wish to be or see, was not this after all also the Master Painter's view of the world when he pronounced it "very good," and is not this view of a perfect world almost an essential character of the mystic vision? One might say that in Persian painting the actual world is transfigured, and that the painter, like Meister Eckhart, "prepares all things to return to God."

It is perfectly true that the traditional Islamic iconoclasm excludes all Persian illustration from the formal category of religious art. But the category of religious art as such is narrower than that of mystic vision. Persian painting must have had in many cases "a deeper meaning for its patrons than it can have for us," not merely in the romantic sense that Dr. Schroeder allows (p. xi) but in a spiritual sense. The erotic and spiritual senses are, indeed, for the Persian mystic no more antithetic than they were for the contemporary European *Fidèles de l'Amour*. And this deeper meaning arises in two ways. For, in the first place, it would hardly be possible to deny that illustrations to such poems as those of Nizami, charged as they often are with Sufi content, had nothing of the spiritual significance of the texts they illustrate. And secondly, there is plenty of literary evidence, e.g., that of the *Mantiqu'at-Tair*, to show that the meaning of the Simurgh — the old Saena Muruk, Verethragna — was still understood. One can hardly believe that no one was aware of the cosmic significance of the conflict of the Simurgh with the Dragon in even such a late and decorative drawing as that of Sakisian's *La Miniature Persane*, pl. XLIV. In any case there is abundant evidence to show that like Plato (whom Jili saw in a vision "filling the universe with light") the Persian mystic (or metaphysician) thought of all particular beauties as manifestations and participations of the absolute beauty of God. In the *Mathnawi* (i. 2770), for example, Rumi says that the charm of the picture (he is referring to pictures in bathhouses)¹ serves to

attract to the reality (*man*, "meaning") behind it;² which is nothing but the expression of an old and traditional view that is represented in Europe about the same time in the dictum of St. Thomas Aquinas, that beauty adds to goodness a relation to the cognitive faculty, so that by the beautiful we are attracted to the proper object of desire. The whole concept of "form" is exemplary. Thus, "the arts and crafts (*peshhā*) are all the shadow of the form of thoughts" (*zill-i-surat-i-andeshhā*, *Mathnawi*, vi. 3728); "to whatever side thou gaze, My form thou shalt enjoy" (Shams-i-Tabriz, Ode xxv in R. A. Nicholson's *Selected Poems from the Diwani Shams-i-Tabriz*, Cambridge, 1898). In Sadi's *Bustan* (v. 133-135) we find:

How well the brocader's apprentice said,
When he portrayed 'Anka and elephant and giraffe —
"From my hand there came not any form (*surat*)
The plan (*naqsh*) of which the teacher from above
portrayed not."

And thus "All mirrors in the universe, I ween, display
Thy image with its radiant sheen" (Jami, *Laws'ih* 26).

Such quotations could be multiplied; but these are sufficient to show that A. U. Pope was not unjustified in saying that "the contour, moreover, has an identity and reality, like the Platonic idea, which the potter more or less clearly realises" (*Survey of Persian Art*, p. 1456). And if, as Nicholson says (*Legacy of Islam*, p. 236), it was the Sufi poet's task to "draw the picture" of an ideal world, we are no more bound to suppose that the patron and connoisseur of Persian painting was never able to rise above an enjoyment of aesthetic surfaces than we can suppose that none of the Sufi poet's readers ever understood what he meant by his "wine" and "women."

The interpretation suggested here differs from Dr. Schroeder's. At least we feel the reader should have been told that there is a Persian theory or philosophy of beauty that goes deeper than any mere appreciation of the exquisite. In this connection also (p. x), some discussion of the common word *surat*, which may mean either archetypal form, or figure (actual shape), would have been useful. How does *surat* differ from *tarh*? Is not *tarh* (as what is "first laid down") rather draft, or even outline (i.e., underdrawing, in a finished picture) than intention?

As to historical problems proper: the vexed question of the various artists "Riza" is very carefully examined. Aqa Riza, described by Iskandar Munshi, belongs to the late sixteenth century; to him are attributed No. xx in the Fogg Museum and twenty or twenty-three other paintings, of which two are dated in 1589 and 1598. The works of 'Ali Riza 'Abbasi and Riza 'Abbasi (if they were indeed the same person) belong for the most part to the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Quite distinct from either of these, although contemporary with both is the Aqa Riza or Muhammad Riza who migrated from Herat (or Merv) to India and entered the service of Prince Salim, afterward Jahangir, about 1590, and describes himself as the disciple of his royal patron. To him is attributed No. xix; many other examples of his work are known. Amongst these are some in the Museum of

2. Cf. *ibid.*, iv. 2881, in connection with calligraphy: "the outer form is for the sake of the inner form."

1. Cf. the important fourteenth century text on bathhouse paintings, cited by T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford, 1928, p. 88; representations of war and the chase stimulate the animal, erotic paintings the spiritual, and paintings of gardens and flowers the natural (vegetative) principles, respectively, of man's constitution. Cf. also the *Kalāmi Pir* on the real significance of the "huras of Paradise" (in W. Iwanow, *Kalāmi Pir*, Islamic Research Assoc., Bombay, 1935, pp. 101-103).

Fine Arts, Boston, published in the *Catalogue of Mughal Paintings*, which should have been referred to on p. 109. The works of this Riza Jahangiri are nearly all in a more or less clearly recognizable Mughal style; for which the old name of Indo-Persian would have been really appropriate if all the work done for the Indian Mughal patrons had been as Persian as is that of Riza. The Fogg example is in a very Persian manner, but with a kind of modeling which suggests that it must have been done in India.

Dr. Schroeder has probably taken most pleasure in describing (as the student will in reading about it) No. VIII, a superb miniature of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, from a *Shah Namah* and illustrating the story of Rustam and Tahmina; one that reminds us vividly of several similar episodes in the Arthurian romances, and notably that of the daughter of Agravain whom Merlin conducted to King Ban (in the O. E. *Merlin*, EETS edition, Ch. xxx). In the painting, of which an enlarged detail is reproduced, Tahmina, standing on the threshold of Rustam's chamber, is "a true princess; and more, she is the princess of the verse: Her body was like a pure spirit. . . . Like hers, the [slave's] figure is most expressively drawn, with an almost unique feeling for the third dimension and a dramatic truth beyond praise . . . Rustam . . . is a lion *couchant regardant*, lithe, wide-faced, glaring, startled from half-drunken sleep to instant desire." It would, indeed, be impossible to exaggerate the importance of the *Shah Namah* for the history of Persian painting. This great book, of which all the earlier part is really mythological, brought into being a tradition of painting in which the present work is a supreme moment; the formulas of this tradition survive even in the latest centuries of the decadence. The miniature is attributed, with two others, to the artist Pir Ahmad Baghshimali, of whom Dust Muhammad wrote, "He is the zenith of his time. No one could rival him."

The Bibliography is far from exhaustive. This was probably intentional; but it would seem that more works of T. W. Arnold and F. R. Martin, and such books as J. Daridan and S. Stelling-Michaud, *La Peinture Séfévide d'Ispahan*, Paris, 1930, should have been listed. Some works mentioned in the footnotes are not listed in the Bibliography. Reference might have been made to the several more extensive bibliographies that are to be found in other books. The Catalogue as a whole is closely woven; it represents a positive advance in method and in historical criticism, and is so written as to make its subject-matter interesting not only to the special student of Persian painting but to every student of the humanities.

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Boston Museum of Fine Arts

GUY DE Tervarent, *Les énigmes de l'art du moyen âge, Deuxième série: art flamand*, Paris, Les éditions d'art et d'histoire, 1941. Pp. 80; 20 pls., 40 figs.

M. de Tervarent has continued the plan of the first series of his *Enigmes* by selecting ten objects for this second series; their subject matter either had not been interpreted before, or had been interpreted wrongly,

or the sources of their inspiration had eluded scholars. For each of them he suggests a solution which, with a few reservations, I consider correct.

The Tapestries of Ronceray. These are a series of eucharistic tapestries which, until the French Revolution, belonged to the Abbey of Ronceray in Angers. Today they are dispersed; one of them is in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The author examines that part of the series which purports to prove the "Truth of the Holy Eucharist"; twelve scenes represent miracles brought about through its efficacy. The author has discovered their literary sources in the *exempla*, those edifying anecdotes which the preachers of the Middle Ages inserted in their sermons in order to retain the attention of their audience.¹ Since only part of the collections of *exempla* from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries have been published, the author has extended his research to the manuscripts of the rich *fonds latin* of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The best known of these *exempla* is the story of the Jew who pierced the Eucharist with a knife and caused blood to flow from it. The author describes the literary development of the theme and sets forth its iconography. His account is based on an extensive bibliography and is unobjectionable. But I cannot agree with him in regard to the origin of the tapestries. He suggests, though with some hesitation, that they are of Flemish workmanship. Others have seen in them a work of the School of Tournai. For my part, I am certain that these beautiful tapestries are French and that they were woven in one of the workshops of Touraine, near the Abbey which ordered them. The initial "Y" and the coats of arms refer probably to the Abbess of Ronceray, Isabella de la Faille (1505-1518), and to the donor Louise le Roux (†1523) whose portrait de Farcy thought that he recognized on one of the tapestries. H. Göbel has already observed this and he, too, believes that the tapestries were woven in the workshops of the Loire.² Indeed if one compares the tapestries of Ronceray with the contemporary products of these workshops, no doubt is possible about their origin. We may choose for comparison the tapestry representing the life of St. Sebastian, at present in the Musée de Cluny, a product of the workshops of Tours, dated 1502;³ or the one with the legend of St. Quentin, in the Louvre, a French work of the sixteenth century; or the one with the history of St. Remi which is owned by the church of St. Remi in Reims, also French and made during the years 1510-1530.⁴

The "St. Adolph" of the Berlin Museum (chapter II). It is not difficult for the author to show that one of the figures in a Crucifixion of the School of Dirk Bouts whom the catalogue of the Deutsches Museum (ed. 1921, No. 543) calls St. Adolph is really St. Servais, one of the first bishops of Tongres. The legend makes St. Servais a cousin of the Virgin and thereby the guardian of the key which Christ gave to St. Peter.

1. The *exemplum* has been made the object of studies and publications, the most important ones by J. T. Welter, e.g., *L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge*, Paris, 1927.

2. H. Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, 2nd part, *Die Romanischen Länder*, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1928, p. 288.

3. H. Schmitz, *Bildteppiche*, Berlin, 1920, fig. 137.

4. *Altfranzösische Bildteppiche*, Berlin, n.d., Series *Orbis Pictus*, vol. 18, figs. 38 and 41.

The saint in the picture holds the famous key in his hand.

Saint Anne and Her Relatives. Chapters III and IV are devoted to the history of St. Anne and her relatives. This legendary genealogy was developed toward the end of the Middle Ages under the influence of worshippers who were anxious to know more about the family of the Virgin. The author had touched upon this subject previously in connection with a tympanum of the Church of Santa Maria in Bergamo.⁵ He returns to it because of two pictures, one from the Musée St. Sauveur in Bruges, the other in the City Museum in Frankfurt. This latter work which a Brussels artist of the last quarter of the fifteenth century was commissioned to paint by Runold of Laubach, Carmelite prior in Frankfurt, is extraordinarily rich in iconographic content.⁶

The Two Prayers. Chapter V is devoted to a painting of the Flemish School which the Prado Catalogue (ed. 1933, No. 1918) lists as "*Misa de Ex Voto*." Rather it represents a religious theme which was fairly frequent in the fifteenth century and which the author calls "The Two Prayers." Two persons are kneeling, but while one of them devotes himself to his prayer will all his soul and heart, the soul and heart of the other are tied to a neighboring house by chains (which some artists have actually represented). The house has no front, and on each floor one sees the goods and pleasures of this world spread out. M. de Tervarent speaks rightly of "attentive" and "distracted" prayer. In this case I am in a position to complete the evidence cited by the author and to confirm at the same time his interpretation of the theme. A wood engraving of the sixteenth century⁷ represents the same subject, but this time the sources of inspiration are quoted: John IV, 23 and Isaiah, XXIX, 13. This last text may have suggested the iconographic theme from the very beginning: "Et dixit dominus: Eo quod appropinquat populus iste ore suo, et labiis suis glorificat me, cor autem eius est a me . . ."

The Pope and the Dragon (chapter VI). A stone statue of the Musée du Cinquantenaire in Brussels represents a pope who previously had not been identified. The muzzled animal which he leads entitles us to see in him St. Sylvester who, according to the *Legenda aurea*, tied the mouth of a dragon and "sealed it." At Rome, during the Middle Ages there was shown near Santa Lucia in Orgea the subterranean spot where the monster was kept imprisoned.

Legend of Saint Catherine. Chapter VII is devoted to a picture of the Van der Elst Collection, and is at present in New York. Certain episodes of the story of St. Catherine which are represented on it cannot be found anywhere else. The author explains them with the help of a version of the legend contained in Ms. 7917 of the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels.

The rest of the work deals with Barend van Orley. In chapter VIII the author speaks of two companion pictures which were part of the collection of Mortimer Schiff in New York. They represent, as he shows with

the help of texts, little known events from the legend of St. Martin. In chapter IX M. de Tervarent has ended the existing uncertainty in regard to the subject matter of a panel by van Orley in the collection of Baron Schröder in London. He shows that the scene represents St. Louis' return to France from the Seventh Crusade.

The most interesting chapter of the book is undoubtedly the last one. It deals with one of the main works of van Orley, the painting which belongs to the Pinacoteca Reale in Turin and is said by some to represent the healing of scrofula by the King of France, by others the gift of the relics of St. Walburga to Charles the Bald. M. de Tervarent, with the help of X-rays, shows that this picture was painted over, perhaps by the artist himself, and that its original version contained, among objects hidden by the repainting, an iron gauntlet. On the basis of this gauntlet which is miraculously suspended in mid-air the author identifies the scene. As a matter of fact the miracle of the gauntlet is part of the legend of Charlemagne; and the event painted by van Orley is the Emperor's return to Aix-la-Chapelle where he deposits the relics of the Passion which he had obtained in the Holy Land. The painter had been ordered to paint the picture by the Brothers of the Holy Cross of the Church of Furnes where they kept as a famous relic a fragment of the "wood of the Savior." This explains everything.

To sum up: This book will cause many a curator of a museum and many a collector to revise his catalogue; it makes a real contribution to the iconography of primitive Flemish art in its last period. It allows us to make the most favorable predictions for the work on the interpretation of antiquity in Renaissance art announced by M. de Tervarent. May I reveal here that the author, the Chevalier Guy (de Schoutheete) de Tervarent is in his professional life a Belgian diplomat, the Belgian Minister to Egypt? This learned thinker likes to rummage through the ancient libraries and especially that of the Bollandists in Brussels. He can discuss the driest topics with the ease of a man of the world, thereby setting a good example to many a scholar.

LEO VAN PUTVELDE

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PHILIP L. GOODWIN, *Brazil Builds (Construção Brasileira), Architecture New and Old, 1652-1942*, Photographs by G. E. Kidder Smith. New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 1943. Pp. 198, numerous plates. \$5.00.

The current exploration of the modern arts of South America has not been in general as rewarding as the earlier study of the painting and music of Mexico. There is, however, one exception and that is Brazil. The painting of Portinari and the music of Villalobos and Guarnieri have in the estimation of North Americans something of the international significance long granted to the painters and composers of Mexico. At the Flushing fair in 1939, moreover, the Brazilian Pavilion provided, except for the Swedish Pavilion, almost the only architecture of distinction.

Brazil Builds, like most of the Museum of Modern Art's publications, is at once the catalogue of an exhibi-

5. *Les énigmes de l'art*, Première série, pp. 25-27.

6. B. Kleinschmidt, *Die heilige Anna, ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum*, Düsseldorf, 1930, pp. 346-352.

7. *Bibliotheek der Universiteit van Amsterdam, Catalogus der Nederlandsche Letteren*, Amsterdam, 1921, p. 11.

tion of Brazilian architecture and an independent monograph on the subject, whose potential interest the Flushing Pavilion suggested four years ago. Nor does the material in the book belie the promise of that first introduction. About two-thirds of the book is devoted to a rather thorough presentation of the work of the leading modern architects in the last decade, while the first third of the book serves as an introduction to Brazilian architecture by illustrating and discussing earlier work, chiefly of the eighteenth century.

Mr. Kidder Smith's photographs provide a very appetizing view of the Portuguese Colonial Baroque and suggest the richness and solidity of the early tradition. But I think they offer less of a clue to the present-day work than a few nineteenth-century monuments which are also included. We are always told that South Americans have long looked to Paris as to the world center of culture, but it has not always been clear to North Americans why their reflections of Parisian art seem generally so belated and so inferior as compared to our own. It is therefore interesting to see that in Brazil a century ago the French architectural tradition of the Restoration, in France itself dignified enough but singularly uninspiring, was maintained for several decades with real charm and elegance. Indeed while Vauthier's Teatro Santa Isabel in Recife might have been built in any French provincial city in the eighteen-twenties or thirties, or Rebelo's Palacio da Itamarati in Rio in one of the then new quarters of Paris, the skilful use of clear light color and on the palace of rich native materials, produces an effect of lightness and gaiety which the French originals probably never had. The Gonçalves de Moraes house at Recife resembles equally in its crisp, dry Renaissance forms the *maisons de campagne* of the Restoration and the July Monarchy. But the surfacing of the central block of the façade with blue and white tiles of the local tradition entirely alters its character. The French discipline of style was brought to Brazil apparently by Grandjean de Montigny. He had been a pupil of Percier, but he is best known for his *Architecture Toscane*, in which the historic forms of the monuments of the Florentine Renaissance were sharpened up in the exquisite cold engravings until they already look more like the work of the nineteenth than of the fifteenth century. But Rebelo, the Brazilian pupil of Grandjean de Montigny and other emulators of the French Restoration style were able, perhaps with some loss of distinction of proportion and precision of composition, to lighten and warm up the French manner of the twenties with gay color and handsome local materials.

Something of the same sort seems to have been happening in the present century. The sources of Brazilian modern architecture of the last decade are very evidently not European modern architecture as a whole, but the particular version which came to maturity in France in the twenties. The most conspicuous monument, indeed, the Ministry of Education and Health in Rio, shows in its parts and in many details the result of the consultation of its group of architects with Le Corbusier. The work of Oscar Niemeyer, which with justice is particularly well represented in this book, is recurrently Corbusian in character. On the other hand the *Sedes Sapientiae* of Rino Levi at São

Paulo and several of the small houses and apartments illustrated suggest rather the work of less famous and less prominent French modern architects of two decades ago. But the most interesting work, such as the ministry in Rio and the recreational buildings at Belo Horizonte, like the work of a century ago, varies and enlivens the imposed French discipline by the use of native stones and even the traditional painted and glazed tiles.

It must be admitted that while much of the new Brazilian work appears solidier and fresher than the executed buildings of a decade and more ago in France — and also perhaps more suitable to its tropical setting — there is also, as in the work of Rebelo and Vauthier, some deterioration from the highest French standards of proportion and composition. This is probably inevitable and not even necessarily undesirable. The more classical derivation from the French line represented by the English work of Lubetkin, on the one hand, the freer and more romantic deviations from the rigidity of the "International Style" of the Finnish Aalto, on the other, in the thirties were both more original and more personal, but it is not evident that they would have been well suited to Brazil. Nor in a country without a tradition of wooden construction would the developing character of American modern architecture of the thirties have been appropriate. The extremely interesting Fazenda São Luis by Toledo, which is unfortunately represented only by plan and elevations, is more rustic in character, with walls of field stone and window frames of wood. But its elegance and formality recall Miës van der Rohe more than the work of native North Americans and yet it is still not without relation to certain houses of Le Corbusier. There is perhaps something of Miës also in the other house which is represented only by a project, that for Herbert Johnson at Fortaleza by Niemeyer. It is certainly a surprising contrast to Mr. Johnson's house in Racine by Frank Lloyd Wright, which is also illustrated. The work of Rudofsky, which seems to have impressed Messrs. Goodwin and Kidder Smith particularly, is not very convincing in the illustrations provided. It is more central European than French in background and seems less acculturated in design and materials, despite the interesting adaptation of the plan, with its many enclosed outdoor rooms, to the climate.

One judges that the spate of production, which continued particularly active in the last three years, is now coming to an end with Brazil's entrance into the war. One wonders, therefore, whether enough has already been built to establish a lasting local tradition which may continue, as the imported French style of the 1820's apparently continued, down beyond the middle of the century. Even more one wonders whether the initial steps of modification will continue to be developed or whether they will remain merely the personal touches of a few gifted Brazilians added to an essentially imported style. Despite the impressiveness of the Brazilian achievement of the last decade, we may perhaps believe that in North America the architecture of the twentieth century has advanced further beyond its beginnings. But the study of these still very European buildings to the south may be of at least catalytic value to us at a time when there is no building

in Europe. Certainly this book includes the most interesting new architecture which has yet come out of Latin America.

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MAX HUGGLER AND ANNA MARIA CETTO, *Schweizer Malerei im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Holbein Verlag, Basle, 1941. Pp. 68, 89 pls., 9 in color.

A book written and produced primarily for edification does not warrant extensive critical comment. And yet this book can meet any demand made upon it by the historian of art since the two collaborators, Max Huggler, in the introduction, and Anna Maria Cetto, in the descriptive catalogue, have contributed an exceedingly sound and attractive text. While Miss Cetto has carried the bulk of the task in assembling the material for the catalogue and commenting upon the individual paintings, Mr. Huggler has presented in his outline of Swiss art in the nineteenth century an example of that strong and clear Swiss-German style of writing which, in the prose of Jakob Burckhardt and Heinrich Wölfflin, has become a source of delight for every reader.

While one cannot expect discoveries of unknown great masters in this volume, the American reader will learn from it that our general histories of art and surveys of the nineteenth century have treated the small European countries as step-children. True, the centers of academic training as well as the hothouses of artistic revolt have been in London, Paris, and Munich; yet the smaller countries such as Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland have, in their artistic output, shown a consistency, sensibility, and warmth which are reflections of the general height of civilization in well-governed, liberal countries. Before 1890 these small countries mainly contributed to the art of Europe by a slightly provincial idiom of naturalism which included the elements of topography and genre. But since the last decade of the nineteenth century they have been instrumental in the making of the modern artistic era: Belgium and Holland in *Part nouveau* and architecture, Scandinavia in symbolism and expressionism, Switzerland in the renewal of monumental fresco art. The two main cultural groups of Switzerland have made their contributions at different times: while the romantic naturalism of the first part of the century seems to have been centered around the shores of Lake Geneva, perhaps echoing Rousseau's influence, the second part of the nineteenth century belongs primarily to the Alemannic group. Landscape painting, of course, in this country of romantic pictorial values, ranks first in subject matter with the special contribution of the peasant-genre originating, as in the Dutch-Flemish area, from a democratic burgher civilization. This modern genre of the "merry ploughman" was made international by Léopold Robert (district of Neuf-Châtel) who transferred it to Italian soil. Such relationships beyond the frontiers connected Switzerland actively with the art of the other European countries. Jacques-Laurent Agasse (1767-1849), who is today little known, migrated to England and became one of the most delightful sporting-scene painters of the epoch. He thus continued a relation to Eng-

land begun with Johann Heinrich Füssli. Frédéric Frégevize (1770-1849) and Johann Jakob Biedermann (1763-1830) crossed the orbit of the greatest German romantic landscape painter, Caspar David Friedrich, while the once-famous Charles Gleyre (1806-1874) and Friedrich Salathé (1793-1858) reflect the Pre-Raphaelite atmosphere of the Nazarenes in Rome under Overbeck's guidance. The beautiful self-portrait of Gleyre (plate 28) of 1827 must be a surprise to all who know his academic creations in the Chassériau vein which made him the favored master of Paul Delaroche's studio between 1843 and 1870. If portraits of the period between 1810 and 1830 were exhibited together, including those by Constable, Bonington, and Corot (whom most people know only as landscape painters), as well as works by Géricault, Delacroix, Ingres, Overbeck, and Cornelius, the discovery would be made that these two decades represent one of the great epochs of portrait painting. The relationship with France was established through the friendship and artistic exchange between Corot and Barthélemy Menn (1815-1893), the influential teacher of generations of artists since his directorship of the Geneva Academy in 1850. His self-portrait of 1872 (plate 3) is not only humanly profound and artistically mature but also surpasses the literary genre portraits of Arnold Böcklin (self-portrait with fiddling death, etc.). Considerable but not undue space is given to Böcklin who with much gusto and obviousness interpreted romanticism in terms of Darwin's age. The influence of Courbet became powerful in the second part of the century. The German-Alemannic group (some of its members moving permanently to Munich) was primarily interested in solid and sturdy plastic values. It made its appearance with Koller, Frölicher, Anker, Stauffer-Bern, and Buchser. The last-mentioned is interesting from the American point of view, since he spent five productive years from 1866 to 1871 in the United States. A color reproduction, *Negro Hut in Charlottesville* (plate 6), excels in brilliant sunlight effects such as had not yet been produced by American painters. The development of the Alemannic group comes to a majestic end in the original but self-conscious style of Ferdinand Hodler. *The Night* (plate 87) bears the amazingly early date of 1890. It forms a parallel to the aspirations of Gauguin and Munch toward a symbolic *art nouveau*. The painting was exhibited, after refusal in Zürich, at the Salon of 1891. It would be interesting to ascertain whether any effect has been exerted by this picture upon the Belgian and Dutch avant-garde. At the end of the volume we find Hodler's *Battle of Marignano*, a fresco for the Schweizer Landesmuseum in Zürich. The Swiss Hodler, like the Mexican Rivera, had directed his attention to Piero della Francesca's Arezzo frescoes. The stage was set for an incorporation of painting into the larger context of architecture.

Seen from the distance permitted by a review from California, Swiss painting of the nineteenth century seems to be a side branch of romanticism and naturalism perhaps determined more by cultural and blood relations to neighboring France and Germany than by a specifically recognizable Swiss attitude. However the inspiration of beautiful nature and the security of stable social conditions have lent to the works of Swiss

artists a prevailingly intimate and often idyllic character. In Boecklin and Hodler these elements are transformed by creative genius into nature symbolism and symbolism of pattern and color. With these two men Swiss art became European art.

A word is still due the faultless quality of the

printing of text and reproductions in these three volumes and the exemplary beauty of the book covers bound in colored linen. Jan Tschichold is responsible for them.

ALFRED NEUMEYER
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LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

H. LUDEKE, *Frank Buchsers amerikanische Sendung 1866-1871*, Basel, Holbein-Verlag, 1941. Pp. 136; frontispiece + 9 figs. in text + 93 pls.

A. S. MACLEOD, *The Spirit of Hawaii Before and After Pearl Harbor*, watercolors, lithographs, and drawings, New York, Harper & Bros., 1943. \$4.00.

JACQUES MARITAIN, *Art and Poetry*, New York, Philosophical Library, 1943. Pp. 104. \$1.75.

BERTRAM MORRIS, *The Aesthetic Process*, Evanston, Northwestern University Studies in the Humanities, No. 8, 1943. Pp. xiii + 189; frontispiece + 64 pls. \$2.25.

SIR WILLIAM ROTHENSTEIN AND LORD DAVID CECIL, *Men of the R.A.F.*, London, Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. 134; 40 pls. \$3.00.

SAMUEL L. SUMBERG, *The Nuremberg Schembart Carnival, with 60 reproductions from a manuscript in the Nuremberg Stadtbibliothek (Ms Nor. K. 444)*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. xi + 234; frontispiece + 56 figs. \$3.00.

HANNS SWARZENSKI, *The Berthold Missal (the Pierpont Morgan Library Ms 710) and the Scriptorium of Weingarten Abbey*, New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1943. Pp. 138; frontispiece, color plate, 172 figs. in text + 63 pls. \$25.00.

Walter Kurt Wiemken, with introduction by George Schmidt, Basel, Holbein-Verlag, 1942. Pp. 39 + xiv; frontispiece + 4 figs. in text + 40 pls. (3 in color). Fr. 12.

The Editors greatly regret an error in the List of Books Received in the last number of the Art Bulletin. "HAROLD EDWARD DICKSON, *Observations on American Art*" should have read "HAROLD EDWARD DICKSON, *Observations on American Art: Selections from the Writings of John Neal (1793-1876)*." The abbreviated title is obviously misleading.

INDEX FOR VOLUME XXV

- Agustín Esteve and Goya*, by MARTIN S. SORIA, 239
- Akhthamar *see* Notes on the Sculpture of the Church of Akhthamar
- ALFORD, JOHN, Letter to the Editor concerning *Art Criticism Now*, 270
- Apollo Belvedere *see* Dürer and the Hercules Borghese-Piccolomini
- Architecture
- American *see* Mill and Mansion; *see* Newport Tower; *see* Town and Davis Architects
 - Brazilian *see* Brazil Builds
 - French *see* Church of Saint-Martin at Tours (903-1150); *see* François Mansart and the Origins of French Classical Architecture
 - Italian *see* Romanesque Churches in Florence; *see* Villa Giulia
 - Mediaeval *see* Church of Saint-Martin at Tours (903-1150); *see* Romanesque Churches in Florence
 - Renaissance *see* Villa Giulia
 - Romanesque *see* Church of Saint-Martin at Tours (903-1150); *see* Romanesque Churches in Florence
- Art Criticism Now*, by Lionello Venturi
- Letters to the Editor concerning, 269, 270, 366
- Assisi *see* Giotto's St. Francis Series at Assisi Historically Considered
- BAKER, C. H. COLLINS, review of Andrew C. Ritchie: *English Painters, Hogarth to Constable*, 276
- Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery *see* Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore
- Barbari, Jacopo de' *see* Jacopo de' Barbari
- Bieber, Margarete: *Laocoon, The Influence of the Group since Its Rediscovery*, reviewed by ALLAN H. GILBERT, 378
- Bigelow, Francis H.: *Historic Silver of the Colonies and Its Makers*, reviewed by KATHRYN C. BUHLER, 172
- Blunt, Anthony: *François Mansart and the Origins of French Classical Architecture*, reviewed by JOHN COOLIDGE, 86
- Books Received, List of, 95, 176, 288, 386
- Book Reviews, 80, 162, 273, 372
- Brazil Builds*, by Philip L. Goodwin, reviewed by HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK, 383
- Bronzes *see* New Researches on Chinese Bronzes
- BUHLER, KATHRYN C., review of Francis H. Bigelow: *Historic Silver of the Colonies and Its Makers*, 172
- BURROUGHS, ALAN, review of William Sawitzky: *Matthew Pratt 1734-1805*, 279
- Cetto, Anna Maria and Max Huggler: *Schweizer Malerei im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, reviewed by ALFRED NEUMEYER, 385
- China *see* From China to Palmyra
- Church of Saint-Martin at Tours (903-1150)*, *The*, by CARL K. HERSEY, 1
- Constable *see* English Painters, Hogarth to Constable
- COOLIDGE, JOHN P.
- Mill and Mansion*, reviewed by JOSEPH HUDNUT, 162
 - Review of Anthony Blunt: *François Mansart and the Origins of French Classical Architecture*, 86
- Review of William Barclay Parsons: *Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance*, 169
- The Villa Giulia: A Study of Central Italian Architecture in the Mid-Sixteenth Century*, 177
- COOMARASWAMY, ANANDA K., review of Eric Schroeder, *Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art*, 380
- DAVIDSON, J. LE ROY, review of Florance Waterbury: *Early Chinese Symbols and Literature: Vestiges and Speculations*, 281
- Davis, A. J. *see* Town and Davis Architects
- DER NERSESSIAN, SIRARPIE
- Review of Charles Rufus Morey: *Early Christian Art*, 80
 - Review of Ernest T. De Wald: *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, Vol. III. Psalms and Odes, Part 2. Vat. Gr. 752*, 375
- De Wald, Ernest T., *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, Vol. III. Psalms and Odes, Part 2. Vat. Gr. 752*, reviewed by SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN, 375
- Diego de Siloe *see* Early Works of Bartolomé Ordóñez and Diego de Siloe
- Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, by Karl Lehmann-Hartleben and Erling C. Olsen, reviewed by G. W. ELDERKIN, 274
- DONNELL, EDNA, review of Roger Hale Newton: *Town and Davis Architects . . . 1812-1870*, 164
- Drawings *see* Dürer and the Hercules Borghese-Piccolomini; *see* Paintings and Drawings by Raphael; *see* Schweizer Malerei und Zeichnung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert
- Dürer, Albrecht *see* Jacopo de' Barbari's Apollo and Dürer's Male Proportion Figures, 363
- Dürer and the Hercules Borghese-Piccolomini*, by A. M. FRIEND, JR., 40
- Dumbarton Oaks Collection *see* Three Byzantine Works of Art
- Early Chinese Symbols and Literature: Vestiges and Speculations*, by Florance Waterbury, reviewed by J. LE ROY DAVIDSON, 281
- Early Christian Art*, by Charles Rufus Morey, reviewed by SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN, 80
- Letter to the Editor concerning, 160
- Early Works of Bartolomé Ordóñez and Diego de Siloe, The*, by HAROLD E. WETHEY, 226, 325
- ELDERKIN, G. W., review of Karl Lehmann-Hartleben and Erling C. Olsen: *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, 274
- Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance*, by William Barclay Parsons, reviewed by JOHN P. COOLIDGE, 169
- English Bards and Grecian Marbles*, by Stephen A. Larrabee, reviewed by ALLAN H. GILBERT, 167
- English Painters, Hogarth to Constable*, by Andrew C. Ritchie, reviewed by C. H. COLLINS BAKER, 276
- English Thirteenth-Century Bestiary, An*, by Samuel A. Ives and Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, reviewed by DOROTHY MINER, 88
- Engravings *see* Jacopo de' Barbari's Apollo and Dürer's Male Proportion Figures

Énigmes de l'art du moyen âge, Les, Deuxième série: art flamand, by Guy de Tervarent, reviewed by LEO VAN PUYVELDE, 382

Esteve, Agustín *see* Agustín Esteve

Euripides *see* Three "Bactrian" Silver Vessels with Illustrations from Euripides

FALK, ILSE and JENÖ LÁNYI, *The Genesis of Andrea Pisano's Bronze Doors*, 132

Flannagan, John B.: *Letters*, reviewed by ROBERT J. GOLDWATER, 287

Florence *see* Romanesque Churches in Florence

Fogg Museum of Art *see* Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art

FRANC, HELEN, Letter to the Editor concerning Mather's article on Giotto's St. Francis Series, 368

François Mansart and the Origins of French Classical Architecture, by Anthony Blunt, reviewed by JOHN COOLIDGE, 86

FRIEND, A. M., JR., *Dürer and the Hercules Borghese-Piccolomini*, 40

From China to Palmyra, by OTTO MAENCHEN-HELFEN, 358

Genesis of Andrea Pisano's Bronze Doors, The, by ILSE FALK and JENÖ LÁNYI, 132

GILBERT, ALLAN H.

Review of Margarete Bieber: *Laocoon, The Influence of the Group since Its Rediscovery*, 378

Review of Stephen A. Larrabee: *English Bards and Grecian Marbles*, 167

Giotto's St. Francis Series at Assisi Historically Considered, by FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR., 97

Letters to the Editor concerning, 368 ff.

GOLDWATER, ROBERT J., review of John B. Flannagan: *Letters*, 287

Goodwin, Philip L.: *Brazil Builds*, reviewed by HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK, 383

Goya *see* Agustín Esteve and Goya

Gradmann, Erwin and Emil Major: *Urs Graf*, reviewed by ALFRED NEUMEYER, 284

Graf, Urs *see* Urs Graf

GRASSL, CATHERINE, *New Researches on Chinese Bronzes*, 65

GREENE, THEODORE M., Letter to the Editor concerning Venturi's and Alford's discussion over *Art Criticism Now*, 366

Hercules Borghese-Piccolomini *see* Dürer and the Hercules Borghese-Piccolomini

HERSEY, CARL K., *The Church of Saint-Martin at Tours (903-1150)*, 1

Historic Silver of the Colonies and Its Makers, by Francis H. Bigelow, reviewed by KATHRYN C. BUHLER, 172

HITCHCOCK, HENRY-RUSSELL

Review of Philip Ainsworth Means: *Newport Tower*, 273

Review of Philip L. Goodwin: *Brazil Builds*, 383

Hogarth *see* English Painters, Hogarth to Constable

HOPE, HENRY R.

Letter to the Editor concerning *Review of Periodical Literature on Painting and Sculpture since 1880*, 79

Review of Fritz Schmalenbach: *Kunsthistorische Studien*, 174

HORN, WALTER, *Romanesque Churches in Florence: A Study in Their Chronology and Stylistic Development*, 112

HUDNUT, JOSEPH, review of John P. Coolidge: *Mill and Mansion*, 162

Huggler, Max and Anna Maria Cetto: *Schweizer Malerei im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, reviewed by ALFRED NEUMEYER, 385

Iconography *see* Early Chinese Symbols and Literature; *see* Early Christian Art; *see* Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint; *see* Maestas Domini; *see* Textual Basis of the Utrecht Psalter Illustrations; *see* Three "Bactrian" Silver Vessels with Illustrations from Euripides

Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, The, Vol. III. *Psalm and Odes, Part 2. Vat. Gr. 752*, by Ernest T. De Wald, reviewed by SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN, 375

Ives, Samuel A. and Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt: *An English Thirteenth-Century Bestiary*, reviewed by DOROTHY MINER, 88

Ivories *see* Three Byzantine Works of Art

Jacopo de' Barbari's Apollo and Dürer's Male Proportion Figures, by ALICE WOLF, 363

JANSON, H. W., review of Elmer G. Suhr: *Two Currents in the Thought Stream of Europe*, 89

KENNEDY, RUTH WEDGWOOD, review of W. E. Suida: *Paintings and Drawings by Raphael*, 166

KERNODLE, GEORGE R., *Renaissance Artists in the Service of the People: Political Tableaux and Street Theaters in France, Flanders, and England*, 59

Kouroi, by Gisela M. A. Richter, reviewed by KARL LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, 372

Kunsthistorische Studien, by Fritz Schmalenbach, reviewed by HENRY R. HOPE, 174

LADNER, G. B., review of F. Van der Meer: *Maestas Domini: Théophanies de l'Apocalypse dans l'art chrétien*, 93

LÁNYI, JENÖ and ILSE FALK, *The Genesis of Andrea Pisano's Bronze Doors*, 132

Laocoon, The Influence of the Group since Its Rediscovery, by Margarete Bieber, reviewed by ALLAN H. GILBERT, 378

Larrabee, Stephen A.: *English Bards and Grecian Marbles*, reviewed by ALLAN H. GILBERT, 167

LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, KARL, review of Gisela M. A. Richter: *Kouroi*, 372

Lehmann-Hartleben, Karl and Erling C. Olsen: *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, reviewed by G. W. ELDERKIN, 274

Lehmann-Haupt, Hellmut and Samuel A. Ives: *An English Thirteenth-Century Bestiary*, reviewed by DOROTHY MINER, 88

Letters, by John B. Flannagan, reviewed by ROBERT J. GOLDWATER, 287

Letters to the Editor, 79, 160, 267, 366

MAENCHEN-HELFEN, OTTO, *From China to Palmyra*, 358

- Maestas Domini: Théophanies de l'Apocalypse dans Part chrétien*, by F. Van der Meer, reviewed by G. B. LADNER, 93
- Major, Emil and Erwin Gradmann: *Urs Graf*, reviewed by ALFRED NEUMEYER, 284
- Mansart, François *see* François Mansart
- Manuscripts *see* English Thirteenth-Century Bestiary; *see* Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint; *see* Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art; *see* Textual Basis of the Utrecht Psalter Illustrations
- MATHER, FRANK JEWETT, JR.
Giotto's St. Francis Series at Assisi Historically Considered, 97
 Letter to the Editor concerning *Newport Tower*, 267
 Letters to the Editor in reply to Lionello Venturi and Helen Franc, 368, 370
- Matthew Pratt 1734-1805, by William Sawitzky, reviewed by ALAN BURROUGHS, 279
- Means, Philip Ainsworth: *Newport Tower*, reviewed by HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK, 273
- Michelangelo *see* Neglected Contemporary Sources relating to Michelangelo and Titian
- Mill and Mansion, by John P. Coolidge, reviewed by JOSEPH HUDNUT, 162
- MINER, DOROTHY, review of Samuel A. Ives and Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt: *An English Thirteenth-Century Bestiary*, 88
- Miniatures *see* Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art
- Minor Arts *see* Historic Silver of the Colonies and Its Makers; *see* New Researches on Chinese Bronzes; *see* Three "Bactrian" Silver Vessels from Euripides; *see* Three Byzantine Works of Art
- MOREY, CHARLES RUFUS
Early Christian Art, reviewed by SIRARPIE DER NESSIONIAN, 80
 Letter to the Editor concerning *Early Christian Art*, 160
- Neglected Contemporary Sources relating to Michelangelo and Titian*, by E. TIETZE-CONRAT, 154
- NEUMEYER, ALFRED
 Review of Emil Major and Erwin Gradmann: *Urs Graf*, 284
 Review of Max Huggler and Anna Maria Cetto: *Schweizer Malerei im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 385
 Review of *Schweizer Malerei und Zeichnung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, 284
- New Researches on Chinese Bronzes*, by CATHERINE GRASSL, 65
- Newport Tower*, by Philip Ainsworth Means, reviewed by HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK, 273
 Letter to the Editor concerning, 267
- Newton, Roger Hale: *Town and Davis Architects . . . 1812-1870*, reviewed by EDNA DONNELL, 164
- Notes on the Sculpture of the Church of Akhthamar*, by ARMÉNAG SAKISIAN, 346
- Olsen, Erling C. and Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, reviewed by G. W. ELDERKIN, 274
- Ordóñez, Bartolomé *see* Early Works of Bartolomé Ordóñez and Diego de Siloe
- Painting
 English *see* English Painters, Hogarth to Constable
 Flemish *see* *Énigmes de l'art du moyen âge*, Les, Deuxième série: art flamand
 Italian *see* Giotto's St. Francis Series; *see* Neglected Contemporary Sources relating to Michelangelo and Titian; *see* Paintings and Drawings by Raphael
 Spanish *see* Agustín Esteve and Goya
 Swiss *see* Schweizer Malerei im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert; *see* Schweizer Malerei und Zeichnung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert; *see* Urs Graf
- Paintings and Drawings by Raphael*, by W. E. Suida, reviewed by RUTH WETGWOOD KENNEDY, 166
- Palmyra *see* From China to Palmyra
- PANOFSKY, DORA, *The Textual Basis of the Utrecht Psalter Illustrations*, 50
- Parsons, William Barclay: *Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance*, reviewed by JOHN P. COOLIDGE, 169
- Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art*, by Eric Schroeder, reviewed by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, 380
- Pierce, Hayford and Royall Tyler: *Three Byzantine Works of Art*, reviewed by KURT WEITZMANN, 163
- Pisano, Andrea *see* Genesis of Andrea Pisano's Bronze Doors
- Pratt, Matthew *see* Matthew Pratt
- PUYVELDE, LEO VAN, review of Guy de Tervarent: *Les énigmes de l'art du moyen âge*, Deuxième série: art flamand, 382
- Raphael *see* Paintings and Drawings by Raphael
- Renaissance Artists in the Service of the People: Political Tableaux and Street Theaters in France, Flanders, and England*, by GEORGE R. KERNODLE, 59
- Review of Periodical Literature on Painting and Sculpture since 1880*, by J. J. Sweeney
 Letter to the Editor concerning, 79
- Reviews *see* Book Reviews
- Richter, Gisela M. A.: *Kouroi*, reviewed by KARL LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, 372
- Ritchie, Andrew C.: *English Painters, Hogarth to Constable*, reviewed by C. H. COLLINS BAKER, 276
- Romanesque Churches in Florence: A Study in Their Chronology and Stylistic Development*, by WALTER HORN, 112
- Rome, Villa Giulia *see* Villa Giulia
- SAKISIAN, ARMÉNAG, *Notes on the Sculpture of the Church of Akhthamar*, 346
- Sawitzky, William: *Matthew Pratt 1734-1805*, reviewed by ALAN BURROUGHS, 279
- Schmalenbach, Fritz: *Kunsthistorische Studien*, reviewed by HENRY R. HOPE, 174
- Schroeder, Eric: *Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art*, reviewed by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, 380
- Schweizer Malerei im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, by

- Max Huggler and Anna Maria Cetto, reviewed by ALFRED NEUMEYER, 385
- Schweizer Malerei und Zeichnung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, reviewed by ALFRED NEUMEYER, 284
- Sculpture**
- Ancient *see* Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore; *see* Dürer and the Hercules Borghese-Piccolomini; *see* English Bards and Grecian Marbles; *see* Kouroi; *see* Laocoon
- Byzantine *see* Three Byzantine Works of Art
- Italian *see* Genesis of Andrea Pisano's Bronze Doors
- Mediaeval *see* Notes on the Sculpture of the Church of Akhthamar
- Near Eastern *see* Notes on the Sculpture of the Church of Akhthamar
- Spanish *see* Early Works of Bartolomé Ordóñez and Diego de Siloe
- Siloe, Diego de *see* Diego de Siloe
- SORIA, MARTIN S., *Agustín Esteve and Goya*, 239
- Suhr, Elmer G.: *Two Currents in the Thought Stream of Europe*, reviewed by H. W. JANSON, 89
- Suida, W. E.: *Paintings and Drawings by Raphael*, reviewed by RUTH WEDGWOOD KENNEDY, 166
- Sweeney, J. J., *Review of Periodical Literature on Painting and Sculpture since 1880*
- Letter to the Editor concerning, 79
- Tableaux, Political *see* Renaissance Artists in the Service of the People
- Tervarent, Guy de: *Les Énigmes de l'art du moyen âge, Deuxième série: art flamand*, reviewed by LEO VAN PUYVELDE, 382
- Textiles *see* Three Byzantine Works of Art
- Textual Basis of the Utrecht Psalter Illustrations, *The*, by DORA PANOFKY, 50
- Theaters, Street *see* Renaissance Artists in the Service of the People
- Three "Bactrian" Silver Vessels with Illustrations from Euripides, by KURT WEITZMANN, 289
- Three Byzantine Works of Art, by Hayford Pierce and Royall Tyler, reviewed by KURT WEITZMANN, 163
- TIETZE-CONRAT, E., *Neglected Contemporary Sources relating to Michelangelo and Titian*, 154
- Titian *see* Neglected Contemporary Sources relating to Michelangelo and Titian
- Tours, Church of Saint-Martin *see* Church of Saint-Martin at Tours (903-1150)
- Town and Davis Architects . . . 1812-1870, by Roger Hale Newton, reviewed by EDNA DONNELL, 164
- Two Currents in the Thought Stream of Europe, by Elmer G. Suhr, reviewed by H. W. JANSON, 89
- Tyler, Royall and Hayford Pierce: *Three Byzantine Works of Art*, reviewed by KURT WEITZMANN, 163
- Urs Graf, by Emil Major and Erwin Gradmann, reviewed by ALFRED NEUMEYER, 284
- Utrecht Psalter, Illustrations of *see* Textual Basis of the Utrecht Psalter Illustrations
- Van der Meer, F.: *Maestas Domini: Théophanies de l'Apocalypse dans l'art chrétien*, reviewed by G. B. LADNER, 93
- Vatican Library, Vat. Gr. 752 *see* Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint
- VENTURI, LIONELLO
- Letter to the Editor concerning *Art Criticism Now*, 269
- Letter to the Editor concerning Mather's article on Giotto's St. Francis Series, 368
- Villa Giulia, *The: A Study of Central Italian Architecture in the Mid-Sixteenth Century*, by JOHN COOLIDGE, 177
- Walters Art Gallery *see* Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore
- Waterbury, Florance: *Early Chinese Symbols and Literature: Vestiges and Speculations*, reviewed by J. LE ROY DAVIDSON, 281
- WEITZMANN, KURT
- Review of Hayford Pierce and Royall Tyler: *Three Byzantine Works of Art*, 163
- Three "Bactrian" Silver Vessels with Illustrations from Euripides, 289
- WETHEY, HAROLD E., *The Early Works of Bartolomé Ordóñez and Diego de Siloe*, 226, 325
- WOLF, ALICE, *Jacopo de' Barbari's Apollo and Dürer's Male Proportion Figures*, 363

